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HENRY PERCY, NINTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND
From the portrait by Vandyck at Petworth
(By courtesy of Lord Leconfield)

[*Frontispiece*

ADVICE TO HIS SON

by

HENRY PERCY

Ninth Earl of Northumberland

(1609)

Edited with a biographical introduction

by

G. B. HARRISON

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INTRODUCTION

HENRY PERCY, afterwards ninth Earl of Northumberland, was born in May 1564.[1] The title had been extinct from 1537, when the sixth Earl died, until 1557, when it was bestowed on Sir Thomas Percy for good services rendered to Queen Mary; he was one of the Wardens of the Marches towards Scotland and Captain of Berwick-upon-Tweed. Though a professed Catholic, he was continued in his office by Queen Elizabeth. In 1568, Mary Queen of Scots fled into England. Early the next year, Northumberland, with Charles Neville, Earl of Westmorland, and certain other noblemen began to intrigue to have her proclaimed heir to the throne, and, as a first step in this design, to break Sir William Cecil. The Queen, however, heard of the plot and frustrated their schemes. The Earl of Northumberland, being thus an object of suspicion, especially as he was noticed to be in frequent consultation with Westmorland and other discontented nobles, was sent for by the Earl of Sussex, as Lord President of the North, to be examined with the others on the charge of disloyalty. As all solemnly asserted their loyalty, they were dismissed to find out who had spread the reports.

Suspicions increased, and the Lord President was commanded to order the suspected Lords to go up to London; but first, for some private reason of his own,

[1] The fullest biography is by E. B. de Fonblanque in *Annals of the House of Percy*, 1887. There is enough material for a *Life* in several volumes.

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he summoned them to meet him about the affairs of the North. They refused to come; whereupon the Queen sent peremptory orders that they should immediately appear before her, intending by this move either to awe them out of rebellion or else to force them into it before they were ready. In this crisis the Earl of Northumberland "between the softness of his nature and the consciousness of his guilt, the bigotry of his persuasion and the violence of his resentment for a conceived wrong done to him in relation to a rich copper mine found upon his estate, by virtue of the Queen's rights to royal mines ; he seemed to labour under a very great suspense whether it were best to apply to her Majesty, or to seek his safety in flight, or turn rebel."[1] His servants, however, forced him into the last course, and in a short time the Earl found himself in command of a small and dwindling force facing three bodies of loyal troops. In December 1569 he retired into Scotland, being plundered on the way by the Border thieves, and took refuge with Hector Graham of Harlaw, to whom he had done many services. Graham promised to be true to him, but for a bribe betrayed him to the Earl of Murray, the Regent of Scotland. Northumberland was therefore sent to the Castle of Lochleven. A few days later the Regent was murdered, but Northumberland remained in Lochleven in charge of the late Regent's brother until July 1572, when he was sold to Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, now Captain of Berwick. Meanwhile the nobles who had taken part in the rebellion of 1569 had been attainted and outlawed *in absentia*. Northumberland, being brought to England, "was now on the two and twentieth day of August beheaded at York, about two of the clock in the afternoon, on a new scaffold set up for that purpose in the market-place."[2] At his

[1] Camden's *Elizabeth*. [2] Stow's *Annals*.

death he avowed the Pope's supremacy, affirmed that the realm was in a state of schism, and that those obedient to the Queen were no better than heretics.

The peerage would normally have become extinct on the attainder of Lord Thomas, but fortunately at his creation in 1557, the title had been entailed on his brother Henry, who now succeeded as eighth Earl of Northumberland.

Thus, at the age of eight, his son Henry became heir to one of the richest, most ancient, and most unfortunate of the great houses of England. His father, the new Earl, was a Catholic, but hoping to preserve young Henry from the dangers which beset a Catholic nobleman in a State but rawly turned Protestant, he had him brought up by a clergyman of the Church of England; but the boy was not by nature religious, and in his maturity he favoured Ralegh's agnosticism rather than either religious party. According to the ideas of the time, he was very well educated and inclined to scholarship, being especially possessed of a scientific curiosity, which showed itself unprofitably in alchemy, but more advantageously in the encouragement that he always gave to schemes for exploration and discovery.

When he was seventeen – that is, in 1581 – he was sent travelling, accompanied with a letter of advice from Sir William Cecil, now Lord Burleigh; but in Paris he was unfavourably reported on by the English Ambassador for consorting with Sir Charles Paget, a notable Catholic, who had fled the realm after the discovery of one of the plots in favour of Mary Queen of Scots.

Three years later his father, who had been implicated in the rebellion of 1568, was again in trouble and was imprisoned in the Tower. At his place at Petworth he had been visited by Paget and it was suspected that he had been won over by the Catholics abroad to

lead a rebellion in the North in favour of Mary Queen of Scots. He was not, however, brought to trial, as no satisfactory evidence could be produced. After about a year's imprisonment he was discovered dead in bed in the Tower, having been shot through the heart at point blank range by a dag which was found by the bed. Sympathisers naturally declared that the Earl had been murdered, and to meet the indignant rumours which were spreading abroad the Council published an official pamphlet entitled *A true and summary report of the declaration of some part of the Earl of Northumberland's treasons . . . together with the examinations and depositions of sundry persons touching the manner of his most wicked and violent murder committed upon himself with his own hand in the Tower of London, the 20th day of June, 1585.*

This account – if it is true – shows convincingly that the Earl committed suicide. The men who had been waiting on him had recently been removed and imprisoned for passing in communications, and in their place had come a certain "Thomas Bailiffe, gentleman." Bailiffe deposed that after the Earl had retired to bed, he had insisted on bolting the door of his chamber on the inside; shortly after midnight there was a great noise heard from within the chamber. Being unable to enter or to get any answer from within, Bailiffe called one of the watch and sent for the Lieutenant, who came hurriedly. About 12.45 a.m. the door was forcibly broken open and the Earl found dead. It was afterwards shown at the inquest that one of his former servants had brought the dag to him, and that the Earl had ordered it to be placed near the head of his bed in a slit in the mattress.

Though at first reading the story reads smoothly, there are certain doubts, which were indicated in a Catholic pamphlet put out at Cologne shortly

afterwards, entitled *Crudelitatis Calvinianæ exempla duo recentissima ex Anglia*, wherein the nature of the evidence is closely scrutinised and strong reasons are given against the likelihood of the Earl committing suicide. The writer very pertinently asks how it came about that a pistol could have been brought into the Tower and given to one who was so closely watched? The truth cannot now be known; one instinctively distrusts Government pamphlets, and young Henry Percy evidently did not believe that his father had committed suicide.[1]

No love was lost between the young Earl and his mother, and in 1587 she complained to Lord Burleigh of his courses. There had been acute disagreement because Northumberland wished his sister to marry his friend Mr. John Wotton, and they had plotted to persuade the girl to contract herself before two witnesses, hoping thereafter to force the old Countess to produce a dowry of £2,000 or £3,000. The plan, however, was foiled and Wotton so angry that he threatened the Countess's steward in St. Paul's Church. Next day the Earl himself visited his mother, and as he was leaving the house – so the Countess writes – "as he accustomed my Cousin Francis Fitton (his father's cousin-german and chief dealer in matters of his living, as he still is for me) waited on him down into the Hall, where, without any cause known or word spoken, he drew his rapier (which he seldom useth to carry, but of purpose that night) strake at him being in his nightgown amazed at the matter, cut his head and brake his rapier upon his arm, having nothing to defend himself withal but his hands, till at length some of my servants rescued him."[2]

After his succession to the peerage the young Earl

[1] See *Advice*, p. 79.

[2] De Fonblanque, ii. 191.

proceeded to purchase experience at the usual rates, but he encouraged men of learning, particularly Thomas Hariot, one of the greatest of English mathematicians, and therefore much suspected by the ignorant. Hariot was born about 1560, and soon after taking his degree in 1579, "coming to the knowledge of that heroic knight Sir Walter Ralegh for his admirable skill in the mathematics, he entertained him in his family, allowed him a yearly pension, and was instructed by him at leisure hours in that art. In 1584 he went with the said knight and first Colony into Virginia, where being settled he was employed in the discovery and surveying thereof, and to make what knowledge he could of the commodities it yielded, and concerning the inhabitants and their manners and customs. After his return into England Sir Walter got him into the acquaintance of that noble and generous Count Henry, Earl of Northumberland, who finding him a gentleman of an affable and peaceable nature, and well read in the obscure parts of learning, he did allow him a yearly pension of £120. About the same time Robert Hues and Walter Warner, two other Mathematicians, who were known also to the said Count did receive from him yearly pensions also, but of less value, as did afterwards Nicholas Torperley."[1]

Hariot was notorious at this time as the instructor of a little Society, an embryo of the Royal Society of later times, which included Northumberland and Ralegh, Ferdinando Stanley, Earl of Derby, Lord George Hunsdon, with their followers the poets Chapman and Marlowe. The Society was much suspected of atheism, and unfavourably regarded both by orthodox and Catholic. In 1594, in fact, reports of Ralegh's atheistical conversations were so insistent that a special

[1] Anthony à Wood, *Fasti Oxoniensis*, 1691, vol. i., p. 390.

commission was set up at Cerne, in Dorsetshire, to collect evidence.[1]

In the previous year (1593) the Earl had been made a member of the Order of the Garter, and in his honour George Peele wrote a poor poem entitled *The Honour of the Garter*, for which he was rewarded with £3 "by way of my Lord's liberality"; the poem was worth much less.

In 1595 there was a rumour that he was to marry the Lady Arabella Stuart, who was favoured by many as a candidate for the throne; but these rumours may have been due to nothing more than the optimism of some of the Catholics, by whom the Earl was regarded as malcontented and likely to help them. Instead, however, being now thirty-one, the Earl made a political match with the Lady Dorothy Perrot, whose shortcomings occupy considerable space in the *Advice*.

Lady Dorothy Perrot (*née* Devereux) was sister of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, and also of Penelope, Lady Rich (who in her youth had been the Stella of Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*). A few years before, she had made a romantic marriage with Sir Thomas Perrot, son of the boisterous Sir John Perrot, who had got himself into trouble by his hectoring ways and unbridled tongue when Lord Deputy of Ireland.[2] The marriage had been unusually romantic. The lady at the time was living in the house of Sir Henry Cock at Broxbourne, in Hertfordshire; "where, getting into the parish church, they were married by a strange

[1] For further details of this group and full evidence given at Cerne, see my edition of *Willobie His Avisa*, 1926, pp. 204–213, 255–271, and *Marlowe and his Circle*, by F. S. Boas.

[2] For some details of the trial of Sir John Perrot and his character see my *Elizabethan Journal*, 1591–1594, and authorities therein quoted. A large collection of papers connected with the case is preserved at Alnwick Castle.

Minister, whom they had procured, two men guarding the church door with their swords and daggers under their cloaks, as the rest of the company had, to the number of five or six. One Green was then Vicar of the parish, to whom that morning repaired two persons. One of them told him that he was a Minister, and a Bachelor of Divinity, and had been a Preacher of long time; and asked him for the key of the church door, which must be opened to him, for he had a commission, whereupon he was to examine certain men, and to swear them: and therefore asked him also for the Communion Book. The Vicar told him it was locked up in the vestry, and he could not come by it: but instead thereof he offered him a Latin Testament. But the other said, that would not serve his turn. Coming to the church he found it open, and Sir Thomas and the lady ready to enter in; who hindered him by any means from shutting it. But perceiving that they meant to proceed to a marriage, he persuaded the strange Minister not to deal herein, wondering how he would intrude himself into his (the Vicar's) charge: and then offered to him an injunction against it, and began to read it unto them. . . . But they refused to hear it; and the strange Minister (whose name was Lewis) told the Vicar he had sufficient authority, showing him a licence under seal; which the Vicar offered to read: but before he had read half of it, Sir Thomas snatched it away from him, and offered him a rial to marry him. But he refusing, Sir Thomas bade the other go forward. But the Vicar, when the other began to read, resisted him, and shut the book. Whereupon Sir Thomas thrust him away, and told him he had nothing to do therewith, and that he should answer it for resisting my Lord Bishop's authority. And one Godolphin, one of Sir Thomas's party, took him up, and told him he showed himself malicious. Whereupon, after once more

forbidding him, he held his peace. Edmund Lucy, Esq., one that lived in Sir Henry Cock's family together with the Lady Dorothy, coming in, plucked away the book from the Minister; who told him he should answer it, and was in danger of a *premunire* for resisting the Bishop's authority; and so he went forward with his office without the surplice, in his cloak, with his riding boots and spurs, and despatched it hastily."[1]

By his marriage the Earl evidently hoped to advance his own fortune, for Essex in 1595 was very generally regarded as the man of promise which would soon be fulfilled.

The new Countess of Northumberland was a lady of strong personality and a bitter tongue, and the relations between the two were a perpetual joke to the Court. At first, however, she satisfied the hopes of her husband, for early in November it was news in Court that "my Lady Northumberland is now known to be with child."[2] The child was born in 1596 and was a boy. About the same time the Earl began to write his treatise on the education of a nobleman's son which is embodied in the first part of the *Advice*.[3]

In the summer of 1596, Northumberland was nominated as Ambassador Extraordinary to invest the French King with the Garter, but he made such strong representations to Sir Robert Cecil that he was allowed to decline the expensive honour. The letter which he wrote is of some importance, as it explains several passages in the *Advice*. He urges two reasons in particular: the imperfection of his hearing, and the consideration of his state.

[1] *Historical Collections of the life and acts of John Aylmer*, by John Strype, 1821, pp. 217–219. The story offers some parallels with Petruchio's wedding, and indeed, Lady Dorothy had affinities with Katharina.

[2] *Sidney Papers*, i. 359.

[3] See also p. 44.

"The imperfection of my hearing, what absurdities of necessity it must beget, as trouble to the King, evil performance of my part of her Majesty's affairs, and disgrace to myself, I hope she will rightly understand when she shall remember how by the first I shall force a King to speak with often repetitions, and to strain his voice above ordinary, both which my secret conceit must needs hold as indecorum in course of good manners, when I shall entreat him or force him to it out of my want: besides, how slenderly I shall execute the performance of my charge I must refer to her Majesty's judgment, when I shall not understand distinctly by reason of the quickness of their pronunciation, and the unacquaintedness of their accents, not being accustomed to it, which defect how much it troubles me even with in my own usual tongue with strangers, none but myself and mine grief can best make witness of, or they which have the conditions of deafness. Further, how disgraceful the end may be to me, considering the scoffing and scornful humours of them to all of other nations in whom they discover the least imperfection, and how soon they may lay upon me the reputation of a fool, and so by consequent and out of boldness grace me with some disgrace as hath happened to others before me, which in my opinion would nothing fit with her Majesty's honour nor my contentment." As for his estate, he continues, his income is small, his livings wasted by the Scots, and the knaveries of his officers, his woods cut down, and his lands so entailed that he can neither help himself by sale, mortgage, or pawn to give security to any. "Lastly, my debts are so great and for want of payments my credit for money matters so shaken, that I know not which way or by what means to satisfy my desire to do her Majesty this service."[1]

[1] *Salisbury Papers*, vi. 260. See *Advice*, pp. 81, 84.

The plea was accepted, and the duty passed on to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

As well as deafness, the Earl was afflicted with an exceedingly hot temper, and more than once he issued challenges to a duel. In the early part of 1597 he quarrelled with the young Earl of Southampton. Southampton sent Northumberland a gentleman bearing his rapier. Northumberland eagerly asked whether he brought a challenge; if he did, it was accepted beforehand. The gentleman answered that he did not; only he brought the rapier, to make appointment for the time and place. Northumberland replied that he had not a novice in hand; he knew well when he was before or behind in points of honour; and therefore he had nothing else to say unless he were challenged. Half an hour afterwards the gentleman came back with the required challenge, but with conditions, proposing to assign not only the place and the time but also to choose the single rapier, because Southampton's arm was hurt at playing at ballon. Northumberland replied that he knew the Earl did not play with his left hand, and therefore he would not press him till his arm was well. But the affair came to nothing. Within an hour both noblemen were summoned before the Lords of the Council, who assured Northumberland that the offence had never been given; Southampton confirmed their words; Northumberland therefore said that the lie he had given was nothing; Southampton revoked the challenge and they were made friends.[1]

In May, Northumberland was proposing to go with Essex's expedition (afterwards known as the "Islands Voyage"), but to his great grief the baby died and once more he was without an heir. Another boy was born before the end of the year, but only lived for a very short time. Two daughters followed, Lady

[1] Birch's *Memoirs*, ii. 274.

Dorothy, born in 1598, and Lady Lucy in 1600: both survived.

Towards the end of 1597, Northumberland seems to have quarrelled with Essex, according to his own account for very good and sufficient reasons.[1] Essex had reached the height of his reputation with sober observers in the triumphant Cadiz expedition of 1596, but thereafter his character rapidly degenerated. Shrewd observers, such as Francis Bacon, had realised into what dangers his ambitions were leading him; after the return of the "Islands Voyage" in the autumn of 1597 it was obvious that disaster was inevitable, for the expedition had failed principally because of Essex's petty vanity and incompetence. His courses became more desperate as prudent men began to draw away from so dangerous a leader. Essex, in fact, was demanding that all men of any consequence should become his followers or his enemies. It was not likely that a man of Northumberland's intelligence and temper would follow Essex blindly, especially since Lady Northumberland was a violent partisan of her brother.

Essex went over to Ireland in command of the new expeditionary force in March 1599. In August there was a sudden and great alarm that the Spaniards had landed in the Isle of Wight. Troops were mobilised for the defence of London under the Lord Admiral, and Northumberland was made General of the Horse, himself providing 100 horsemen. A few weeks later Essex suddenly returned from Ireland contrary to express orders. He was not allowed to take his place at Court. He was still in disgrace in October, though his enlargement was then expected. Disagreements, as usual, appeared between the Earl and the Countess, and on the 15th the Court gossip was that "yesternight, somewhat late, the Countess of Northumberland

[1] See *Advice*, p. 94.

came to Essex House, a muttering that there is unkindness grown between her and the Earl her husband, upon which they are parted." On 4th November the news was that the Queen was slightly relenting towards Essex, who was ill; "some lightening of grace and pity appears in her Majesty towards him, for besides her yesterday's favour, she is pleased he shall have the liberty of the garden; but Sir Walter Ralegh is fallen sick upon it, and her Majesty very graciously sent to see him." Lady Essex was going from one Councillor to another, but all were unwilling "to trouble the Queen in her desires." As the only means of approaching the Queen on the matter was through the ladies who had access, Essex's two sisters, Lady Northumberland and Lady Rich, now obtained leave to come to Court. A month later Essex was still in captivity at the Lord Keeper's house; his two sisters had appeared in Court, all in black, with the petition that he might be removed to a better air. Essex grew worse, and on the 15th December was not expected to live, but a week later he was a little better. On the 12th January, 1600, Essex was definitely recovering; he was still out of favour and his New Year's gift had been refused. "The Lady Northumberland was in Court, she spoke with the Queen, complained of the little means she had to live, and besought her Majesty's favour. The Earl of Northumberland is a perpetual Courtier; and familiar with Sir Walter Ralegh at cards."[1]

In June the English, under the command of Sir Francis Vere, and Dutch were undertaking the siege of Ostend, and the operations attracted a number of young nobles and gallants who wished to gain some experience of war on a large scale. Northumberland himself went with them. Meanwhile throughout the year Essex had been growing more restive in his

[1] *Sidney Papers*, ii. 133, 139.

seclusion, and his followers more desperate. On 9th February, 1601, they made their foolhardy attempt on the City of London, and on the 25th Essex was beheaded.

In July 1601, Northumberland quarrelled with Sir Francis Vere; the quarrel went on for several months and in the following April, when Sir Francis was in England, he challenged him to fight. "The Earl of Northumberland sent Captain Whitlocke with a letter to Sir Francis Vere, that if all were true he had heard, he had wronged him in such and such points, and therefore desired to be satisfied, wishing him to take his horse and bring one with him, as he of his honour would do the like, and meet him where he should appoint, willing him to send his determination, yea or no, by word of mouth, and not by writing. Sir Francis Vere wrote an answer, and sent it by Captain Ogle, which the Earl refused to receive. The contents were, that though he assured himself he could satisfy him, yet he would not go about to satisfy any man that had his sword in his hand; but if they might meet in peaceable manner before any persons of state whom his Lordship would choose, he would give him reasonable satisfaction, otherwise let him take what course he thought best. In this interim, Monsr. Charon, *en ayant senti le vent*, went and informed the Queen of it, who sent express charge to the Earl upon his allegiance not to molest Sir Francis any way, for that she had special service to employ him in. The Earl obeyed, but sent her Majesty word she should find Sir Francis a knave, a coward, and a buffoon, which coming to Sir Francis's ear, he gives out that the Earl is a liar, and a base-minded man."[1]

[1] *Letters written by John Chamberlain during the reign of Queen Elizabeth*, edited by Sarah Williams, Camden Society, 1861, p. 131. See also p. 140.

Throughout the reign the question of the succession had always occupied the minds of responsible statesmen, and particularly in the later years. Time had eliminated several competitors, and general opinion was now crystallising in favour of James of Scotland. With a change, there would be a reshuffling of posts of advantage, and those who backed James began to correspond in secret with the chief men at the Court of Scotland. By far the most efficient of the intriguers was Sir Robert Cecil, who not only wormed himself into the favour of King James, but at the same time succeeded in prejudicing the King against likely competitors, whilst in England he deceived his rivals by an appearance of complete friendliness. Essex, for his own purposes, had been a strong partisan of the Scotch King, and after Essex's execution in February 1601, Cecil's problems were not a little eased.

In 1601 the Earl of Northumberland, as the friend of Ralegh and the enemy of the Essex group, naturally opposed the succession of James. At the end of the year with his particular friends he was playing the game of political intrigue somewhat indiscreetly, so that an account, probably a little coloured, of the doings of the group was sent up to Scotland by Lord Henry Howard.

"You must remember also, that I gave you notice of the diabolical triplicity, that is Cobham, Ralegh, and Northumberland that met every day at Durham house, where Ralegh lies in consultation, which awaked all the wits of the town out of suspicions of sundry kinds, to watch what chickens they could hatch out of these cockatrice eggs that were daily and nightly sitten on. These things I am inforced to repeat, that that which follows may be better understood; for *ex unguibus leonem, ex cauda scorpionem, ex utriusque, id est unguibus et cauda, dæmonem.*

"The first canon that was concluded in this conventicle was, That Northumberland, who is now by their illusions, and his own giddiness, a sworn enemy to King James, should offer himself as a willing instrument to Cecil to reconcile him to King James; for *inter cæcos dominatur luscus*; and in this concert that they have run foreign courses, Northumberland, out of a residence of kind affection in his uncle to the Queen your mother, makes himself omnipotent in the good conceit of his Majesty. Of all this I gave notice to Cecil; drawing it and much more from a person whom he trusteth as himself; for such a leaking sieve did never water the wild gardens of the Hesperides. Cecil being sensed and well armed by this precaution, desired infinitely that this offer might be made, to the end he might make amends for some frank words cast out to him before his last going over, of his allowance of the right of King James before any, though he did not mean to make circles with Archimedes, while siege was laid to the city. At the last he comes, and was so well paid in his own coin by Cecil, as the fool, finding that he had set up his candle to a wrong saint, began to work back again, and told his own wife that he had rather the King of Scots were buried than crowned, and that both he and all his friends would end their lives before her brother's great god should reign in this element. The lady told him again, that rather than any other than King James should ever reign in this place, she would rather eat their hearts in salt, though she were brought to the gallows instantly. He told her that the Secretary had too much wit ever to live under a man that had a foreign stock, having been so fortunate under a woman, that was tractable and to be counselled. The lady told him, that he need not triumph upon her poor brother's mishap, for [if] kept in this mind, she could expect no better end of him than the

same, or a worse destiny. Thus being newly reconciled *usque ad conjugalem copulam*, which was not *in more* than two years before, they departed in passion, not according to the rule of the philosopher that *omne animal post coitum triste*, but by the distemper of an atheist, that, besides Ralegh's Alcoran, admits no principles. Within ten days after, he came again, but without any other affection than a Flemish jade comes to a coursermare, desiring only an heir-male, to prevent the brothers that are next, whom he hates damnably, and protesteth to some of his friends, that, next to his wife, he abhorreth them above any. After this he complained to Cecil of his wife's Scottish heart, and was desirous that the Queen should understand as much; but Cecil refused to suggest, and wished him also to forbear; because the world would abhor him, and of such a kind of malice, and so grounded, there was no redemption nor recovery. The case, Cecil told him, when a man could not hurt an enemy without hurting himself a great deal more: and therefore advised him, to be more circumspect in his own passion. He said, That he had much ado to love his own daughters, because they were of that generation. Cecil replied, That they might prove like himself, etc."[1] The letter goes on to accuse Northumberland of treacherously making much of his wife in order that he might find out the secrets of the Essex faction.

The purpose of the Earl's reconcilement was achieved; about 1st October, 1602, a son was born, who was baptised on the 14th. "Yesterday," John Chamberlain wrote on the 15th, "was the Earl of Northumberland's son christened at Essex house, the Queen, by the Lady Marquise, her deputy, being godmother, and the Lord Treasurer and Lord Admiral

[1] *The Secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil with James VI, King of Scotland*, edited by David Dalrymple, Edinburgh, 1766, p. 29.

godfathers; the child is called Algernon, after one of his first ancestors that came of the house of Brabant; it is thought somewhat a strange and disused name, but it is better to have a strange name than none."[1]

Meanwhile the Earl had changed his views concerning King James, and early in 1602 he also began to correspond with the King. These letters[2] are exceedingly frank and direct summaries of the situation at home. Now that Essex is dead, he writes, the title of King James is spoken of more freely, and no one is apparently plotting to make himself powerful to resist the King. There are, however, various causes for anxiety in England. There is a fear lest he will be unwilling to wait until the time comes, but will attempt to claim the throne by force. The better sort are afraid that his election of Council and instruments under him to assist in the State will all be Scots; and the name of Scots is harsh in the ears of the vulgar. The Catholics will stand for toleration.

To the first objection Northumberland gives his own opinion that the King will rather seek to unite the two Kingdoms. "Neither do I think the Kings of Scotland have reason to be so far enamoured with the faith of their subjects that willingly they will repose a greater trust in them than in the English. Besides, I conceive it, your Majesty being half English yourself will think that your honour in being reputed a King of England will be greater than to be a King of Scots." He then describes the discontents at home. "The popular griefs are subsidies, taxes for the wars, grants of monopolies, and delays of justice, in all which they rather condemn her Majesty's instruments with the burden of it, than

[1] Chamberlain's Letters, p. 157.

[2] They are printed in *Correspondence of King James VI of Scotland with Sir Robert Cecil and others*, edited by James Bruce, Camden Society, 1861.

conceive hatred to her person; this observance being almost infallible, that a commonalty may sooner be drawn to rebellions under colour of setting straight justice than in advancing any man's title. I am of opinion that it is much easier for a great man, popular in his own country [i.e. county], to move them to commotion than for your Majesty if you were so disposed." He again urges the King not to attempt to assert his right by force of arms, and concludes by asking him to give credit to his messenger, "this gentleman, one of my house, an honest man without whom I fear me I should yet have been longer silent towards you."

In these negotiations the messages were carried to and fro by Thomas Percy. He was a distant cousin of the Earl, and about four years older. The Earl had made him Constable of Alnwick Castle in 1594, and at this time he acted as his chief agent for his estates in the North. Thomas Percy was thoroughly disliked, and with sufficient reason; so much so that in 1602 a long list of complaints was drawn up and forwarded to the Earl in London.[1] Percy was charged with ill-treating the tenantry, taking bribes, and other misdemeanours. He seems, in fact, to have been a very good specimen of the Unjust Steward. Northumberland proposed to dismiss him, but he pleaded in answer to the complaint that "in heat and height of my malicious enemies' informations you will reserve one ear for my answer, and remember that all these men are my enemies for my service done your Lordship in revealing truths against them of great neglects or absolute cozenage in your affairs committed to their trust."

The arrival of Northumberland's first letter on 23rd March, 1602, was duly reported to Cecil in London, together with some of the verbal communications which had passed between Percy and King James. "The Earl

[1] De Fonblanque, ii., pp. 252, 589, 595.

says not that he is a Catholic himself, but that sundry of his retinue and dependance have oars in their boat, and that they are not able to resolve in any course with which he shall not be made acquainted."[1] There were many matters, particularly concerning the position of Catholics under the new Sovereign, which could only be discussed verbally. Thomas Percy was himself an ardent Catholic, and in his conversations with the King, certain large promises of toleration for the Catholic faith were apparently made which Percy took back with him and repeated to Catholic friends, perhaps with some exaggeration.

Percy's return to London and his indiscreet talk filled some of Northumberland's enemies with alarm. On 1st May, Lord Henry Howard wrote warning against him. "The man is beloved of none, followed by none, trusted by no one nobleman or gentleman of quality within the land beside his faction; no, not by the gentlemen or peasants of his own country in respect of his vexation and sport, which you may know by your next neighbours. . . .

"There is no secret which he revealeth not to all his own men, which Cecil would have your Majesty know as from me, lest he should hold Cecil an accuser of a man that reposeth trust, though the true cause thereof be, as he says, not election of worth, but provision for security."[2]

King James acknowledged the Earl's letter, declaring that he had no wish "to hazard my honour, state and person in entering that kingdom as an usurper which God by lawful right hath provided for me."

Northumberland replied in a second letter wherein he made some very pertinent observations on the Earl

[1] *Correspondence of King James VI*, p. 47.
[2] *Secret Correspondence*, p. 107.

of Essex which not only explain, and fully justify, the violent end of that nobleman, but also much of Northumberland's personal dislike for Essex – and Essex's sister. "Your Majesty's judgment of Essex to be a noble gentleman, but that you lost no great friend by him, leads me on the rather to this discourse. To confirm your Majesty's censure, I must say justly, that although he was a man endued with good gifts, yet was his loss the happiest chance for your Majesty and England that could befall us; for either do I fail in my judgment or he would have been a bloody scourge to our nation. Of this I can speak very particularly, as one who was as inward with him as any living creature, the first two years I was matched with his sister. And then could he dream of anything but having the continual power of an army to dispose of, being Great Constable of England, to the end that in an interregnum he might call parliaments to make laws for ourselves ? Did he not decree that it was scandalous to our nation that a stranger should be our King ? Was not his familiarity with me quite cancelled when he had discovered my disposition leaning to your right, and that I was not able to be led by his fortunes ? Did he not secretly keep me from all preferments of the North parts with planting jealousies in the Queen's mind of me, which are there still fresh when these matters come in dispute ? Did he not ever prefer others of more facility to his will than myself in any actions whereby I might come any way to equal him in the reputation of a soldier ? How often have I heard that he inveighed against you amongst such as he conceived to be birds of his own fortune ? Did his soldiers, followers, dream or speak anything but of his being King of England ? . . . Well, to conclude, he wore the crown of England in his heart these many years, and therefore far from setting it upon your head if it had been in his power.

"As for Cobham and Ralegh, how far they bend towards your right, this is my censure; although they be in faction contrary to some that hold with your title, yet in that point I cannot deny but they be of the same minds, and to run the same course. The first of these two, I know not how his heart is affected; but by the latter, whom sixteen years' acquaintance hath confirmed to me, I must needs affirm Ralegh's ever allowance of your right, and although I know him insolent, extremely heated, a man that desires to be able to sway all men's fancies, all men's courses, and a man that out of himself, when your time shall come, will never be able to do you much good nor harm; yet must I needs confess what I know that there is excellent good parts of nature in him, a man whose love is disadvantageous to me in some sort which I cherish rather of constancy than policy, and one whom I wish your Majesty not to lose, because I would not that one hair of a man's head should be against you that might be for you."[1]

The King in reply warned Northumberland not to risk further letters unless there was some urgent reason. The correspondence therefore ceased until 17th March, 1603, when Northumberland wrote that Queen Elizabeth was dangerously ill, and that precautions were being taken by the Council against disorder. He warned the King to be ready, but not to enter England in hostile manner.

King James answered on the 24th March, thanking him for his letter, declaring his intention of welcoming "all men that hath truly served their present Sovereign," and adding "as for the Catholics, I will neither persecute any that will be quiet, and give but an outward obedience to the law, neither will I spare to advance any of them that will by good service worthily

[1] *Correspondence of King James*, p. 67.

deserve it; and if this course will not serve to win every particular honest man, my privy dealing with any of them can avail but little." A few hours after the letter was written Queen Elizabeth died.

The King had evidently been much impressed by Northumberland's character and letters, for amongst his first acts was to send instructions, dated 10th April, that the Earls of Northumberland and Cumberland, Lord Mountjoy and Lord Thomas Howard, should be sworn as members of the Privy Council.[1] Shortly afterwards Northumberland was made Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners, who were immediately responsible for the personal safety of the King. To belong to the Gentlemen Pensioners was an honour much sought after by young courtiers of good family, and to this band the Earl unluckily not only admitted his kinsman Thomas Percy, but failed to administer the usual oath of allegiance.

Troubles soon began in the new reign. Ralegh was deprived of his post of Captain of the Guard, and early in July the alleged conspirators in the "Main" and "Bye Plots" were arrested. Ralegh was tried at Winchester on 17th November and condemned to death, but was reprieved on 10th December. Six days later he was conducted to London and lodged in the Tower, where he remained till 1616, and whither he returned after the disastrous Guiana voyage to be executed on 29th October, 1618.

The Catholics were quickly disappointed of their hopes, and as a result Thomas Percy was brought into great discredit when his large promises were seen to produce nothing. To such a man the disgrace was keen, and Percy was known to be in a mood to attempt something desperate to re-establish his reputation; before

[1] *Acts of the Privy Council,* edited by J. R. Dasent, vol. xxxii., p. 495.

long he was drawn into the inner circle of those who were devising the great Gunpowder Plot. The chief conspirators – Catesby, Winter, Wright, and Fawkes – had been occupied with designs for a Catholic rising since 1602, but it was not until Parliament was prorogued from 7th July, 1604, to the following February that the plan of destroying the Houses of Parliament by powder was set on foot. Percy had been let into the plot a short time before. The Parliament was again postponed until the following November, by which time everything was ready for the explosion on the fifth.

One of the difficulties of the conspirators was to save, if possible, the Catholic Lords. Accordingly, on 24th October, a letter was mysteriously delivered to Lord Mounteagle which ran as follows:

"My Lord,

" Out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation. Therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this Parliament. For God and men have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into your county, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is past so soon as you have burnt the letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it. To whose holy protection I commend you."

Mounteagle immediately took the letter to Sir Robert Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury, who discussed it

with several of the Privy Council, and it was decided that they would bring the matter before the King, who was then at his hunting-box at Royston. The King returned on the 31st October, and next afternoon the Earl of Salisbury handed him the letter, telling him of its manner of delivery but making no comment. Salisbury, however, was of opinion that it was the work of a madman, but the King (who was less of a fool than is commonly supposed) thought "that the style of it seemed to be more quick and pithy than is usual to be in any pasquil or libel (the superfluities of idle brains)." On further pondering the letter, James guessed gunpowder; his own father had been so murdered. Accordingly a search of the Parliament buildings was made by the Lord Chamberlain, accompanied by Lord Mounteagle, who found that the vault under the Upper House was full of wood and coal. On inquiry he was told that the vault had been let out to Thomas Percy. He then hurried back to Whitehall Palace and made his report to the King, who was waiting with five members of the Privy Council. Mounteagle was the more suspicious when he heard Percy's name and "considering both his backwardness in religion and the old dearness in friendship between himself and the said Percy, he did greatly suspect the matter, and that the letter should come from him."

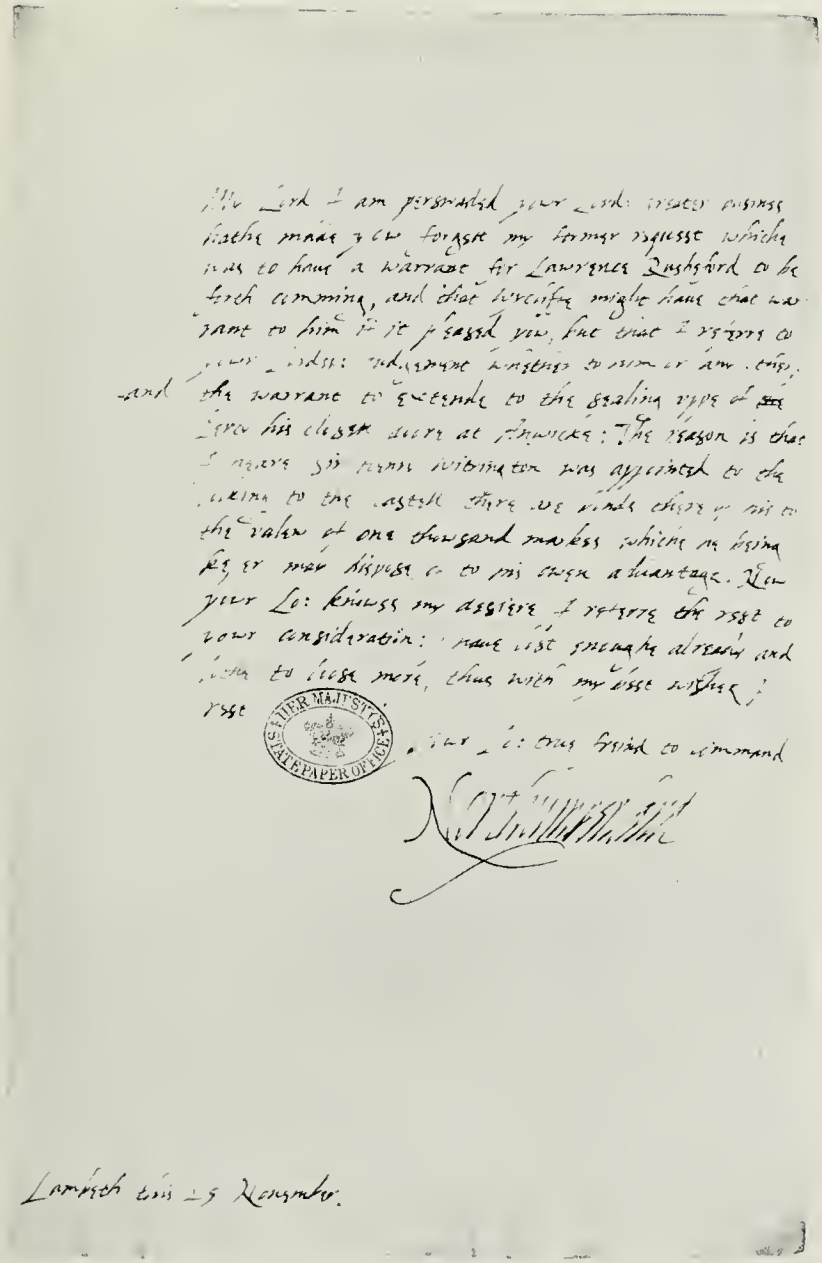
This discovery increased the King's apprehension, and he insisted that the House should be carefully searched. The others agreed, but were doubtful of the best means of carrying out the search; "they were all loath and dainty that in case this letter should prove to be nothing but the evaporation of an idle brain, then a curious search being made, and nothing found, should not only turn to the general scandal of the King and State, as being so suspicious of every light and frivolous story, but likewise lay an ill-favoured impression upon

the Earl of Northumberland, one of his Majesty's greatest subjects and Councillors, this Thomas Percy being his kinsman and most confident familiar. And the rather were they curious upon this point, knowing how far the King detested to be thought suspicious or jealous of any of his good subjects, though of the meanest degree."[1]

The rest of the familiar old story is too well known to need repeating. The conspirators, Catesby, Percy, Rookwood, the Wrights, and Winter, posted into Warwickshire, to the house of Sir Everard Digby, to be all ready to seize the person of the Princess Elizabeth. But the news came of the capture of Fawkes and they fled. They took refuge in Holbeach House, in Staffordshire, and there defied the sheriff. The Wrights were killed, Rookwood and Winter sorely wounded; Catesby and Percy fought to the last, back to back, until they were both mortally wounded by one musket-shot. When news of the fight was brought to the King, he made particular inquiry concerning the fate of Percy. Now that Percy was dead, no one could say what promises had passed concerning the Catholics when James was still intriguing for the English crown.

The Earl of Northumberland was not a little compromised by the Powder Plot, especially as Percy had made no dying deposition, for it was not difficult to force an unfavourable meaning into certain of his actions. Salisbury on the 9th November wrote an account of the plot to Sir Charles Cornwallis in which he says, "I do now send you some Proclamations, and withal think good to advertise you, that those persons named in them, being most of them gentlemen spent in their

[1] These words, and the very brief account here given, are taken from *A Discourse of the Powder Treason* included in *The Works of the most high and mighty prince James*, etc., 1616.



A LETTER WRITTEN TO THE EARL OF SALISBURY
29TH NOVEMBER 1605

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fortunes, all inward with Percy and fit for all alterations, have gathered themselves to a head of some fourscore or a hundred horse, with purpose (as we conceive) to pass overseas; whereupon it hath been thought meet in Policy of State (all circumstances considered) to commit the Earl of Northumberland to the Archbishop of Canterbury, there to be honourably used until things be more quiet. Wherefore if you shall hear a judgment made, as if his Majesty or his Council could harbour a thought of such a savage practice to be lodged in such a nobleman's breast, you shall do well to suppress it as a malicious discourse and invention: this being only done to satisfy the world that nothing be undone which belongs to Policy of State, when the whole Monarchy was proscribed to dissolution; and being no more than himself discreetly approved as necessary, when he received the sentence of the Council for his restraint."[1]

But in the next few days not only did his Majesty and the Council harbour suspicious thoughts of the Earl, they transferred him to the Tower and sent to make a thorough search for compromising documents in his castles in the North. Northumberland's unpopularity is not surprising. One so conscious of the merits of the old English nobility and so frank in the expression of his opinions, which were uttered with the distressing loudness of the deaf, was ill-suited to the Court of King James, who preferred sycophants to Councillors, and flattery to plain speaking. Nothing was found and no capital charge could be devised. It was soon obvious that he had not only no connection with the plot, but had suffered considerably, for Percy had embezzled between £2,000 and £3,000 of his rents in cash. But the Earl had certainly been indiscreet in his actions and had committed technical acts of neglect

[1] Winwood's *Memorials*, ii. 172.

of duty as Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners. After some months' delay he was summoned before the Star Chamber.

The trial of the Earl of Northumberland on 27th June, 1606, in the Star Chamber was made a notable occasion; it was the first trial of a Privy Councillor since the death of Essex. A great scaffold was erected for courtiers and other men of great account, and the side bar with a seat for the prisoner. Nineteen of the Earl's colleagues in the Council sat as his judges. The offences alleged against him were drawn up under six heads:

"1. For endeavouring to be the head of the English papists, and to procure them toleration.

"2. For admitting and placing Thomas Percy to be one of the King's Gentlemen Pensioners, without ministering to him the oath of supremacy,[1] knowing the said Percy to be a recusant.

"3. Whereas the said Earl, being and sitting in Council with the other Lords, and saw apparent inducement that the said Thomas Percy was a chief practiser and contriver of the most horrible treason newly discovered, and the said Earl being by the good and just reason of the King and Council restrained and commanded to keep his house, yet the said Earl wrote two several letters into the North parts, unto his friends and servants to have a care of his money and revenues, supposing the said Thomas Percy to be fled into those parts, negotiating them to preserve the same from the hands of Thomas Percy and to bring the same treasure

[1] Oaths were sworn far more frequently in civil life at this time than to-day. To every official, down to the beadle and scavenger, was administered an oath which detailed the duties of his office. The omission to swear in Percy was therefore a serious matter, but the neglect should rather have been charged to the Lieutenant of the Gentlemen Pensioners. This account of the trial is taken from Hawarde's *Les Reportes del cases in Camera Stellata*; the charges are given in Stow's *Annals*, 1631, p. 88.

up unto him, and in the same letter did utterly neglect and forbear to take any order, or give any commandment for the apprehending the said Thomas Percy, being known for so damnable and dangerous an enemy.

"4. In presuming to write and send letters abroad after his restraint without leave of his Majesty or his Privy Council.

"5. That he being a Privy Councillor, sworn to preserve his Majesty and the State, to have more care of his treasure than of the King or State, without any endeavour to apprehend so dangerous a traitor as he knew the said Percy was.

"6. Lastly, his letters into those parts where Percy was fled, the said Earl knowing at the Council table how the state of all things stood against him, was to give him a watch word and intelligence for his further flight and escape; besides the Earl confessed, that since his Majesty's reign, he had conference concerning the King's Nobility, and how long, and in what manner he should reign."

The prosecution was conducted by the Attorney-General, Sir Edward Coke, who made an exceedingly able speech. He began very respectfully towards the accused, being a person of high and eminent place, and the greatest person and cause that ever was brought into that Court. Then he divided up his arguments into four heads. There were three kinds of presumption; *leues aut temerariæ; probabiles aut veresimiles; violentæ aut necessariæ aut vehementes. Semi probaciones ac solæ presumptiones concludant et condemnant in causa laesæ maiestatis.*

In the beginning of the King's reign, and at the end of the Queen's, the Earl of Northumberland became head of the Catholics and a friend to the Catholic cause, and he desired the Catholics might depend on him.

There was a plot for the Spaniards to land at Milford Haven, and in right of his wife he had Carew Castle near to it; and at that time he increased his stable so that he told the King his whole income would scarcely maintain it. After the Earl knew of two papal bulls which had been issued against the King "he sent Percy into Scotland for a toleration, with two letters and a message pretending the more easy entrance if he would give hopes of toleration; which were intolerable and not to be endured, for that an Englishman grieves to see another kind of worship. Upon Percy's return out of Scotland the Earl of Northumberland told the Catholics that the King's commandment was that they should be assured of ease of their persecutions, which the King himself, *in verbo regis*, saith he never did promise or command."

Catesby and Percy plotted to kill the King, and were all sworn and took the sacrament to effect it and to conceal it. Soon after this, Percy was made a Pensioner; a fit man to have an axe put into his hands to carry it over the King's head! On 9th July he was made a Pensioner and never took any oath! "A Councillor restrained ought not to write to any without leave, but Northumberland wrote that his treasure should be in safety, which was but a watch word to Percy that the plot was discovered; but no word to apprehend Percy!"

Presented so subtly, the case for the prosecution was strong. When Coke had finished, Secretary Herbert announced his view of the sentence, which was £30,000 fine, loss of place as Councillor and Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners, imprisonment during the King's pleasure. The other members of the Council then individually expressed their agreement with the penalty, briefly or sententiously according to their own humours.

Five days later the Earl wrote to the King:

"Most gracious Sovereign,

" May it please your Majesty to cast your eyes upon these few lines of your most humble subject and servant, and to behold the unfortunateness of him that never fostered in his bosom one disloyal or undutiful thought; although pointed at in this by the devilish attempts and ugly acts of a wicked fellow. I cannot deny but how, as matters of his proceedings are laid open (which to me, till now, was altogether unknown), that your Majesty and the State had cause to be jealous, the very ground being this, that he took advantage to serve his purpose, and theirs that set him forwards, upon my trust committed to him to make known my dutiful affections to your Majesty; and as I referred somewhat to his reports, having no more space to write upon, which was but to show your Majesty who, in mine own opinion, I conjectured to be yours; who I might be jealous of, and such by-trifles; he made use of that trust to deliver for others that they secretly employed him in without my knowledge."

He ends by asking for the King's mercy.[1]

At first it was very generally expected that he would soon be released, and various efforts were made on his behalf. The Countess of Northumberland now became as violent in pleading her husband's cause as she had previously been in crossing his schemes. She pestered Salisbury so continuously and so vituperatively that he refused to see her, for reasons which he explained in a letter sent to the Earl – " I was desirous that your Lordship should know, when my Lady should give you any account of her talent, that though I forbare

[1] Printed in De Fonblanque, ii. 280.

to return any one harsh word to the contumelious language she used in charging a man of my place to be one of those that used to devise causes and colours and tricks to procure favour and the contrary whenever I listed."[1]

As time went on many attempts were made to procure the Earl's release, but the King consistently refused, and by 1609 the Earl realised that, in all probability, not only would his sentence be for life, but that fresh attempts would be made to devise a capital charge. In fact, in 1611, one of his servants named Elkes let out certain hints which caused the Council to reopen the inquiry, and again to examine the Earl. Nothing material, however, was revealed. There was, therefore, much in 1609 to induce the Earl to pen, as a testament to his son, some very practical directions on the best way of avoiding his own misfortunes.

The Earl remained a prisoner in the Tower until 1621. The fiery Countess had died shortly before, and he took her death so much to heart that his friends had to remind him of their former disputes to mitigate his grief. His release came through his daughter, the Lady Lucy. In 1617, at the age of eighteen, she had married (contrary to her father's wishes) the Lord Hay, who for her sake at last persuaded the King to pardon his father-in-law. Lord Hay afterwards was created Earl of Carlisle, and his Countess became one of the great beauties of the Court of Charles I. As soon as he was freed, Northumberland made a journey to Bath, being drawn thither in a coach and eight in order to outdo the favourite Buckingham, who used a coach and six. The next year he retired to Petworth, where for the most part he spent the rest of his life. He died in 1632 on the fatal fifth of November.

During his imprisonment the Earl had plenty to

[1] De Fonblanque, ii. 293.

occupy his mind. He kept up a lavish table, managed the affairs of his estates through his servants, and gave much of his time to science. Ralegh was his companion for thirteen years, and his old protégé Hariot remained faithful, and together with "Hues and Warner were his constant companions, and were usually called the Earl of Northumberland's three Magi. They had a table at the Earl's charge, and the Earl himself did constantly converse with them, either singly or altogether, as Sir Walter then in the Tower did."[1] The Earl also supervised the education of his young son, for whom he had lodgings prepared in the Tower.

It is as natural and seemly for old men to give good counsel to younger as it is natural and reprehensible for younger men to neglect it. In the age of Henry Percy the bestowing of advice, both public and private, was generous, and especially on the upbringing and moral behaviour of the young. Public advice is to be found in the various treatises on education and deportment, such as Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*, Ascham's *Schoolmaster*, Mulcaster's *Elementary*, Lyly's *Euphues*, and, a little later, in Peacham's *Complete Gentleman*. Of private advice a number of examples survive, the three most notable being composed by Lord Burleigh, Sir Henry Sidney for the guidance of little Philip, and Sir Walter Ralegh for his son; in the next century all are eclipsed by the letters of Lord Chesterfield.

[1] Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, i. 390. The library which Northumberland accumulated in the Tower was removed to Petworth on his release and there remained intact until it was sold at Sotheby's in April 1928. It included a number of treatises on alchemy, a large collection of pamphlets on American voyages, a copy of Laurentius Grimaldus's *The Councillor*, which the Earl had copiously annotated, and other tracts all showing his interest in science and speculation. See Sotheby's Catalogues: *The Leconfield Americana*, 23–24th April, 1928.

Burleigh's advice is notable, and his ten precepts well worth reprinting:

"I. When it shall please God to bring thee to man's estate, use great providence and circumspection in choosing of a wife: for from thence will spring all thy future good or evil. And it is an action like a stratagem of war, wherein a man can err but once. If thy estate be good, match near home, and at leisure; if weak, far off and quickly. Inquire diligently of her disposition, and how her parents have been inclined in their youth. Let her not be poor, how generous soever; for a man can buy nothing in the market with gentility. Nor choose a base and uncomely creature, although for wealth; for it will cause contempt in others, and loathing in thee. Neither make choice of a dwarf or a fool; for by the one thou shall beget a race of pigmies: the other will be thy daily disgrace, and it will irk thee to hear her talk; and thou shalt find it to thy great grief, that there is nothing more fulsome than a she-fool.

"And touching the guiding of thy house, let thy hospitality be moderate, and according to the measure of thy estate; rather plentiful than sparing, but not costly. For I never knew any growing poor by keeping an orderly table; but some consume themselves through secret visits, and then hospitality beareth the blame. But banish swinish drunkenness out of thine house, which is a vice which impaireth health, consumeth much, and maketh no show. And I never heard praise ascribed to a drunkard, but the well-bearing of his liquor; which is a better commendation for a brewer's horse or a carrion, than either for a gentleman, or serving-man. And beware thou spend not above a third of the four parts of thy living, nor above a third part of that in thy house; for the other two parts will do no more than defray thy extraordinaries, which always surmount thine ordinaries by far: otherwise thou shalt

live like a rich beggar, in continual want. And the needy man can never live happily nor contented; for every least disaster makes him ready to mortgage or sell. And the gentlemen that sell an acre of land sell an ounce of credit; for gentility is nothing else but ancient riches; for that if the foundation sink, the building must needs follow.

"II. Bring thy children up in learning and obedience, yet without austerity. Praise them openly, reprehend them secretly. Give them good countenance, and a sufficient maintenance according to thy ability; otherwise thy life will seem their bondage, and what portion thou shalt leave them at thy death, they will thank death for it, not thee. And I am persuaded that the foolish cockering of some parents, and the overstern carriage of others, causeth more men and women to take ill courses, than their own natural inclinations. Marry thy daughters in time, lest they marry themselves. And suffer not thy sons to pass the Alps; for they shall learn nothing there but pride, blasphemy, and atheism. And if by travel they get a few broken languages, they will profit not more, than to have one meat served in divers dishes. Neither by my consent, shalt thou train them up to the wars. For he that setteth up his rest to live by that profession can hardly be an honest man or good Christian; for every war is of itself unjust, unless the cause make it just. Besides, it is a science no longer in request than use; soldiers in peace are like chimneys in summer.

"III. Live not in the country without corn and cattle about thee: for he that puts his hand to purse for every expense of household, is like him that thinks to keep water in a sieve. And what provision thou shalt want, lay to buy it at the best hand; for there is one penny in four saved, betwixt buying at thy need, and when the markets and seasons do serve fitly for it. And be not

served with kinsmen, friends, or men entreated to stay; for they will expect much, and do little; nor with such as are amorous; for their heads are always intoxicated. And keep rather two too few, than one too many. Feed them well, and pay them with the most; and then thou mayst boldly require service and duty at their hands.

"IV. Let thy kindred and allies be welcome to thy table. Grace them with thy countenance, and further them in all honest actions: for by this means, thou shalt so double the bond of nature, as thou shalt find them so many advocates to plead an apology for thee behind thy back. But shake off those glow-worms, I mean parasites and sycophants, who will feed and fawn upon thee in the summer of prosperity, but in adverse storms they will shelter thee no more than an arbour in winter.

"V. Beware of suretyship for the best friends; for he that payeth another man's debts seeks his own decay. But if thou canst not otherwise choose, rather lend thy money thyself upon good bands, though thou borrow it: so shalt thou both pleasure thy friend and secure thyself. Neither borrow money of a friend; but of a mere stranger; where, paying for it, thou shalt hear of it no more: otherwise thou shalt eclipse thy credit, lose thy friend, and yet pay as dear as to another. But in borrowing of money, be precious of thy word; for he that hath care to keep days of payment is lord of other men's goods.

"VI. Take no suit against a poor man, without receiving much wrong: for besides that thou makest him thy competitor, it is a base conquest to triumph where there is small resistance. Neither attempt law against a man before thou be thoroughly resolved that thou hast right on thy side: and then spare neither for money nor pains; for a cause or two so followed, and obtained, will free thee from suits a great part of thy life.

"VII. Be sure to keep some great man thy friend, but trouble him not for trifles. Compliment him often. Present him with many, yet small gifts, and of little charge. And if thou hast cause to bestow any great gratuity, let it be some such thing as may be daily in sight. Otherwise, in this ambitious age, thou shalt remain as an hop without a pole, live in obscurity, and be made a football for every insulting companion.

"VIII. Towards thy superiors be humble, yet generous: with thy equals familiar, yet respective: towards thy inferiors show much humility and some familiarity; as to bow thy body, stretch forth thy hand, and uncover thy head, with such-like popular compliments. The first prepares way to thy advancement: the second makes thee known for a man well bred: the third gains a good report; which once got is easily kept. For high humility taketh such deep root in the minds of the multitude,[1] as they are easier won by unprofitable courtesies than by churlish benefits. Yet I advise thee not to affect or neglect popularity too much. Seek not to be C. and then to be R.[2]

"IX. Trust not any with thy life, credit, or estate: for it is mere folly for a man to entail himself to his friend, as though, occasion being offered, he should not dare to become his enemy.

"X. Be not scurrilous in thy conversation, nor satirical in thy jests: the one will make thee unwelcome in all company; the other will pull on quarrels, and get thee hatred of thy best friends. For sulphurous jests, when they savour too much of truth, leave a bitterness in the minds of those that are touched. And, although I have already pointed at this inclusive, yet I think it necessary to leave it to thee as a special caution, because I have seen many so prone to quip and gird, as they

[1] *v.l.*, mighty.

[2] *v.l.*, "Seek not to be Essex; shun to be Ralegh."

would rather lose their friend than their jest. And if by chance their boiling brains yield any quaint scoff, they will travail to be delivered of it as a woman with child. These nimble apprehensions are but the froths of wit."[1]

Such pearls of wisdom were too rare to remain hidden in a private cabinet, and copies were made for other fathers to present to their sons. These epistles of advice seldom exist in solitary manuscripts, for the author had more than one reader in prospect, and his Advice, like Mercy, was twice blest; the good son was blessed by following it, the reputation of the good father enhanced as one who successfully combined prudence and godliness. There is an echo of this quintessence of Burleigh's wisdom in the utterances of another statesman as he dismissed his son to the dangers of a sojourn in Paris:

"*Yet here, Laertes! aboard, aboard, for shame!*
The wind sits in the shoulder of your sail,
And you are stay'd for. There, my blessing with thee!
And these few precepts in thy memory
Look thou character. Give thy thoughts no tongue,
Nor any unproportion'd thought his act.
Be thou familiar, but by no means vulgar;
The friends thou hast, and their adoption tried,
Grapple them to thy soul with hoops of steel;
But do not dull thy palm with entertainment
Of each new-hatch'd, unfledg'd comrade. Beware
Of entrance to a quarrel, but, being in,
Bear't that th' opposed may beware of thee.
Give every man thine ear, but few thy voice;
Take each man's censure, but reserve thy judgment.
Costly thy habit as thy purse can buy,
But not express'd in fancy; rich, not gaudy;

[1] Printed in Strype's *Annals of the Reformation*, iv. 340.

For the apparel oft proclaims the man,
And they in France of the best rank and station
Are most select and generous, chief in that.
Neither a borrower nor a lender be;
For loan oft loses both itself and friend,
And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry.
This above all: to thine own self be true,
And it must follow as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.
Farewell; my blessing season this in thee!"

The parallel is close; it leaves the disquieting suspicion that Shakespeare had seen a copy of Burleigh's *Advice*, though to be sure all careful fathers are liable to say such things when parting with their sons. Burleigh's *Advice* is typically English, and typical too of the self-made Englishman; it reiterates the simple truth that courtesy and morality pay the best dividends, and that credit is founded upon property, "for gentility is nothing else but ancient riches."

The *Advice to his Son* written by Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland, is a very different document. Percy is an aristocrat, a kind of being which, if it still exists, no longer expresses itself in literature. He is writing as a nobleman to his successor on the proper way to manage his estates and treat his inferiors if he would get the best service out of them; and not the least value in this treatise is that it mirrors the aristocratic mind. The lives of Essex, Northumberland, and other great courtiers of Queen Elizabeth and King James can only be appreciated when it is remembered that the nobleman, by birth, training, and experience was regarded by himself and others as a superior being.

The *Advice to his Son* is in two parts. The second is headed "An. 1609," and begins with the statement that it was written fourteen years after the former. If so, the

first part was composed in 1595 or 1596, and the latter, and far more interesting, part of the treatise was written in the Tower when the Earl had given up hope of any release, and was expecting that his imprisonment would be perpetual, or end in execution. It is clear, however, that the first section has been revised. In 1595 the Earl had no reason to talk of "the forlorn state of this life," nor could he have addressed his son as one furnished by education "with sufficiency and means"; for his first child was not born until 1596. Probably the opening pages belong also to 1609, the original treatise on the education of a nobleman's son beginning about page 58. There is something rather attractive and typical of the author in supposing that Northumberland began to write on the education of the young as soon as he heard that his wife was with child. The first treatise, one may expect, was composed more for the benefit of the father than the child; Northumberland was here ordering his own views on education by expressing them on paper. There were good reasons too why he should essay a treatise of advice, for at this time his brother-in-law, the Earl of Essex, was also circulating elegant letters of advice to the young Earl of Rutland. Spedding unkindly suggests that the brothers Anthony and Francis Bacon were responsible for all but the signature in these compositions; but at least they passed for the work of Essex. It was quite natural that Northumberland, who at this time was very friendly with his brother-in-law, should wish to emulate him.

The first part of the *Advice* is less interesting than the second, because it is more an exercise of the wit, and the work of a man of less experience. It was avowedly intended to be written in fine style, and Northumberland at this time was so much concerned with elegance in writing that he would have his child to

"be employed in books well written for the phrase than chosen for the matter, because the first impression of a proper style gives facility in writing for ever." His own style at this time was inclined to be heavy; occasionally he loses his foothold in a slippery sentence and will take a dozen lines before he can regain his balance, as in the passage on studies, exercises and manners (p. 60); but, like most of his generation, he can turn out some perfect phrases.

The first part also shows that if the Elizabethan nobleman was a more magnificent and intelligent being than his modern counterpart, he was also far better educated, physically and mentally. Few moderns, in any rank of life, could claim that their education was rounded off by such "deeper contemplations as Arithmetic, Geometry, Logic, Grammar Universal, Metaphysics, the Doctrine of Motion of the Optics, Astronomy, the Doctrine of Generation and Corruption, Cosmography, the Doctrine *De Anima*, Moral, Politics, Economics, the Art Nautical and Military."

There was much bitter experience between the first and the second part, and when Northumberland once more resumed his treatise he had lost his interest in style, and therefore writes better. In the interval between 1595 and 1609 he had himself undergone the education of a nobleman in the ways of statecraft and adversity. He has become a kind of cynical Prospero, contemplating his own failure from the confines of a cell. His *Advice* is no longer a treatise on educational method, but autobiography with comments. Autobiography of this quality is rare at any time, almost unique at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

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This edition of the *Advice to his Son* is based on a manuscript in my possession, dating apparently from

about 1625, which is written in a fair clerkly hand. There is no title-page or title to the treatise; but in an eighteenth-century hand is inscribed in the cover "Advice for Edward Lord Visct Conway to his Son." I acquired it as an unprinted and unknown work. It is not, however, entirely unknown to scholars, though not easily accessible, for the second part was reprinted with generous expurgation in 1838[1]; the first part (pp. 49–72) is here reproduced for the first time.

The ascription to Lord Conway is easily explained. Edward Conway, first Viscount Conway, was a distinguished contemporary of the Earl of Northumberland. In Queen Elizabeth's reign he was knighted at the taking of Cadiz in 1596, and later became Governor of Brille; under James I he was one of the Principal Secretaries of State, and later Captain of the Isle of Wight; under Charles I he was again Secretary of State. His son, the second Viscount, who greatly distinguished himself as a soldier under Charles I, lived frequently at Petworth, where he was a friend of the Northumberland family, and he often mentions them in his letters. Later the Conway title became merged in the title of the Marquis of Hertford. It seems likely therefore that the present copy was given either by the ninth Earl or his son to the first or second Viscount Conway.[2] Years later, when the Conway papers were arranged, it was not unnaturally assumed that this uninscribed manuscript was the work of the first Viscount.

As the manuscript is not the original, it seemed undesirable to keep the old spelling or punctuation, which is irritating to the general reader. The principle which should guide an editor I believe to be that where a text

[1] In *Archæologia*, vol. xxvii.

[2] I am indebted to Miss Marjorie Nicholson, who is editing the *Conway Papers*, for first pointing out the connection.

is intended for the use of scholars it should be reproduced, if possible, in facsimile, or as near to the original as may be; but where the interest is more general, then it is the editor's business to make his text as readable as he can without tampering unduly with the original. The Earl of Northumberland's *Advice to his Son* is worthy of the larger public.

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ADVICE TO HIS SON

THE FORLORN STATE of this life that now I conceive myself to be invested withal, soliciteth me forward for the doing of good to you that shall succeed me, since all these earthly felicities which now are in my custody will be alike pleasing and discontenting, when these worldly means shall no longer serve and attend the affections I then shall be capable of. And since this indifferency is so equally balanced in mine own particular, being freed from those conditions which will make it so overswaying in yours, I will with my best advice and counsels, as a sealing of my last gift, impress that stamp for the directing you to the sound understanding of that you have to wield rather than leave you to work it forth by experience, with much loss and long in getting.

There can be but two ways to procure you a happy state in general; to those generalities there may be many and sundry means, yet ever tending towards one of the two, and that is, either to the true mindly pleasures, or bodily advantages, as honours and wealth. Contentments, I confess, may be born of either, but especially of knowledge, if it be well apprehended, and that more permanent; the other delightful, but more deceitful and passable. Yet since fortune hath denied men for the most part to affect the first with a greater earnestness than the second, I will rather bend my advice to the latter in two respects; the one, because the education you have been already trained in hath furnished you with sufficiency and means, if you list to

embrace them; the other, because I have left in writings so many demonstrative and easy courses to lead you on to the effecting them, if your mind hereafter shall be delighted in the taste of those contemplative pleasures.

As for the perfections of the mind, as they concern moral government or state matters, are included amongst the rest of those dearest tokens of my spent time, which I have left you, now intending to unfold only matters economical, or very nigh dependants of them, as fittest for the shortness of the time, and the faltering of my weak tongue by my overwearied spirits, and the necessariest for you, because they are the nearest to your directions. Not that mine intent is to open the very original grounds of this government, what I hold to be best to assist the firm stay of a commonwealth, as it should be wished in perfection, but such as shall be of most use to yourself in this state you are already subject to. Neither are these principles unfallible in all cases, but likest to prove true in yours. When time and order hath settled your estate at home, your mind shall be freer, and your means better able either to wade into higher degrees of good for your country out of action, or greater pursuits for your soul's felicity out of quiet. And happier will it be for you in that I leave it you young for your wit, but not for your profit. This fortune in which I must yield you your turn, albeit it be good, yet is it nothing unless it be spread to the advantage, for small means well used make the expense prove less than the show. Time may make your understanding privy to his counsels, what he allows to be best, but mine instructions together with that time will not lengthen the time of your judgment.

You are now approaching the instant of a mighty change from hope of a fortune uncertain to a time limited, from obeying to be obeyed. The tickling

pleasure of commanding, if you be no more circumspect, may make you unmindful how to dispose and command to your best advantage; neither must you doubt the world understanding the nigh period I am approaching to by the dissolution of this body, not as busy to untie my counsels, as I am careful to knit the knots past their undoing. They labour for themselves out of self-loving, I out of loving you without respect to myself; for I am not ignorant that in course of reason it is all one to me now that I am a-going; and that which shall not end in you or your succeeder must afterwards have an end in some others out of necessity, either for want of heirs in general; or out of conquest of the country, which eternity must effect; or out of some turbulent spirits, that may cast the Prince's justice upon their own necks; or out of the tyranny of a Prince, which will lay the sword upon them; or out of folly and weakness; or out of youth, which cannot dive into matters upon moments; or out of tender hearts, that will never be made more crafty, but to be endued with the title of an honest man; or out of riot and indiscretion in their own carriage; or out of bastardism, a great change in the race, only the name not extinct. Any of which ends happening is all one, as if it were present to him that is past, only to me, that yet live, this only is excepted, that now whiles I live, I know you, and, knowing you, I do rather wish your good than your hurt; and, being past the period of a living body, I desire rather your good than loss, because it is all one. For your sake I yield to this care and exhortation, not for everlasting posterity, for then should I leave behind me a memory of my folly.

Your years will not admit you present possession by the Law of Wards, now undergone in our commonwealth, a burden weighty to a subject, and the decay of all private men's estates in two or three descents.

Therefore your courses ought to be more temperate, because your state is in danger, which suits not with your years, and therefore more perilously bending to a ruin. Your wardship will be sued for on all sides, the tenderness of your years being your only offence to make you a bondman. Now is it thus used, although at first yielded to upon a more charitable consideration. As it is, it cannot be lightened but by a wary carriage, and, where there is no remedy, good counsels, together with the effecting them, must give ease. Your expenses will grow deep, therefore frugality is to be required; *light gains* (they say) *make heavy purses*, so by consequence great disbursings with small receipts must make them light. Your guardian in all probability will prove a courtier, for the most part not better stored than that their consciences will admit them liberty to be taking. Your lands must be subject to another's expense; your woods destroyed for another's petty gains; your allowance small for another's thrift; your education at Court, where wanton toys will speak liberty to you before your time of freedom. The delights will allure you above your means; for young men are as stiff in their reputations as the best, but less able to understand in what it consists, for oftentimes they are deluded with appearances. Example will be their highest guide, when it is fitting their humours; and to do by example all circumstances not rightly weighed is the multitude's deceiver. A Court in the beginning will entice you to waste, in the end winding itself to be the true schoolmistress of frugality, if it be not too late. If it be, pity and scorn will be the last reward. And men that have nothing are likelier to thrive than those whose fortunes are born in their mouths; for it is more ease to the mind to be observed than to be obsequious, which a great fortune will not stoop unto, nor youth after gettings. To satisfy this

want, brokers must be hunted after, usurers courted and fawned upon, and borrowing, which should be the last refuge, shall be translated to the first agent of undoing; the suggestion of need and poverty being the greatest blow that can happen to a forward fortune both in the decree of others and in the troubles of your own thoughts; borrowing being only a token of excess, and an addition to the misery of want, making destitute the long pleasure *in potentia* for a momentary enjoyed past delight in act. If you be rich, why should you not be satisfied ? If poor, why will you revenge yourself upon yourself ? For it is a greater mishap to become poor than always to have been poor, and repentance doth ever argue folly.

There is another error of the same nature soon slid into, either by credit of tradesmen or the proffered service of tenants; the one minds to betray you, the other intends to make you pay for their courtesy, for leases in reversion at under rates must declare your bountiful nature. Both of them, rainbow like with their colours, will delight and environ you. If you follow them, they will fly you; if you fly them, they will follow you. Tradesmen they may both be nominated, and the oath of a mechanical man is not to be trusted. Allies may advise you, but their advice will never be stretched farther than their lip labours, some out of a customary tenderness to discharge a duty in the world's opinion expected, others out of a superiority of understanding and years they will arrogate to themselves; but few you shall find that will mourn for your losses, or that will hazard a supply for your recovery; perhaps pity, with a seeming grief, shall be the last token of their help. But if your fortune be towardly and in a way of rising, their aids will be the more vigilant, when their goodwills may appear great, with small danger or trouble to themselves.

To the train of expense will be added the tendering of a wife, which, if you refuse, you must pay for your chastity and another's preferment. The offer will be urged to the extremity, if your ability be good, and either by fawning to entice you to an ill match, or by hard measure to constrain you. But men too young married brings with it many sorrows, and too long unmarried imbarks your posterity in the hazard of wardship, and your wife to a second husband, the destruction of most houses. A mean is best in both, yet rather choose to know thy pleasure at liberty than in bondage; of the one repentance may follow with amendment, in the other perpetual repentance without ease, for love will soon be quenched, and upon many occasions. Neither is it possible but continual acquaintance will give satiety, although sometimes dissembled out of fear to discontent, other times out of a slackful bashfulness to adventure, sometimes out of holy cogitations, other times out of a sluggish ease, and sometimes out of a reputation of gravity; but such men gain it only by seeming; which novelties wives cannot daily feed a strong wit, and repetitions either in act or discourse is tedious, for few varieties can flow from few knowledges.

As you increase in judgment, they will seem to increase in shallowness; for I esteem it best, when they have least to do, and where there is small exercise of the wits, small increase in judgment will be found, for there is a period past which most of their understandings do not step over. The weaker the man is in conceit, the higher will the joys of marriage climb in reputation; for men that are least knowing are ever best satisfied with trifles, ignorance being the mother of wonder. Imperfections will be discovered in years that are not cleared in days, and errors by custom uncurable, that at first with a regular discretion might

be helped, in which experience your tender years must needs be needy in, to apply with a fit concordance to every nature, and riper years in women's wits grow less pliable, for toys and vanities in their youths are the subjects they are bent to; miserableness and psalms in their latter days, the one to adorn their chiefest treasure, riches and holiness to supply their greatest loss. Jealousy is chained to them in either age, sometimes without reason, other times not altogether void of cause, but in youth worse governed, and, whether of both, a sound discretion ought to give temper to their weak affections, which inconsiderate and careless youth will be too negligent of, and dissentions, once entered the table of the heart, will hardly be clear cancelled from all memory, for wrongs once conceived, although they be blotted forth, yet will those blots argue they were once fair written. Better is it, therefore, to wear some days in choosing, and to know how to govern before you have cause to use it, and then especially, when your judgment shall rather minister help out of authority and a sound patience than repentance out of weakness, or neglect out of hatred; for then malcontentedness will ever haunt them, unless by industry they be beguiled to know themselves as they are indeed, and not as they appear to themselves; which must be won either out of force or deceit as occasions are fitted, for women by nature weak are subject to partiality and overweening.

In timely marriages children are not the least consideration in the vulgar's conceit, for so shall you possess many; which I hold an unhappiness, and that he is happy by misfortune that hath none at all, and less unhappy by consequent that hath but a few; for it is very ugly to foster other men's babies, that are so either in estimation or in deed, and fathers are ever the last that shall conceive the suspicion. Besides, young

marriages begets starvelings, not the least defect to a great man's proceedings, personage being an attractive power amongst the commonalty, and a kind of natural magic to obedience. And base matches gives a mark of ignominy to your posterity in common eyes, which will disadvantage them in a general allowance, and more in their own spirits, if they be not exceeding confident, reproach being the hell of honest minds, as it now wrought into men's estimations.

The plentiful blessing of children leads on with it an increasing charge, and either must you give yourself a continual slave to the want of your own pleasures; or grieve, that beggary must be left them for their last portions. One of the two you must slide into of necessity, if your means be not the more plentiful, and yet answerable to that plenty, you shall ever find children's humours by the world's expectations enhanced, for coarse linen will serve poor men's sons, and worn shirts are in request for ladies' babes, though their skins be alike. Where there are many, the hazard is greater, the loss more certain, the grief in not having being less than, being had, to lose them; for the want of unknown comforts are ever suffered with easiest patience. Children's proofs will be doubtful, rather inclining to discontentments than otherwise, because the ways to errors are infinite; to truth and virtue but few; and easier it is by industry to set straight one crooked twig than numbers; and look how many children you enjoy that shall be better enabled after your death, so many secret wishers you shall have of your passage; for men cannot choose in the secret of their own hearts, but to love themselves best, unless forestalled with a prejudicate conceit, which I rather wish to the multitude than to you; for fathers' deaths are seldom revenged by those that shall enjoy a fuller measure of their delights, except out of assurance or

hope of no harm to themselves; for the bitterness of the heart, when it is linked with danger, is mollified with plenty and ease, and none loves willingly to cut their own flesh, except it be for an advantage. Fools may make this rule false, and wise men may oft allow it, but never do it.

Imperfections of age in fathers grow tedious to a forward youth, neither do vanities of young men ever best suit with old conditions, for rare it is to find a father that will tolerate the courses of green years out of the depth of consideration, and a son that can admit age's errors with patience out of the strength of their own knowledge. If this judgment correspond not reciprocally on both sides, discontentments either in secret or public must needs be wedded to their hearts; to the one, in that he looks peremptorily to be observed out of custom; to the other, in that he desires liberty out of nature, seconded by example, young counsels, and young affections. Most fathers want wit or temper beguilingly to win one youth to good, not[1] of cunning, but rather out of a too greedy desire of their well doing hastily to incline them to it out of authority; for necessary it is to be of a very temperate disposition, well mixed with an intuitive judgment, that will allow the way of beguiling, which is long in working, when by authority fathers may run a nearer course. Neither will the nature of man yield to forgo the pleasure or ease of commanding, when it is in their power to command, if before he have not well reconciled his natural humours with reason to choose what is best. And amongst these fatherly cares, fathers' eyes ought not to be least vigilant over the cradle age of their children, for from small beginnings infants' inclinations grow very much distant in time from well or evil doing; and parent constitutions are nighest in kind in their

[1] MS., "out."

little ones, for such and the like mixture of temperatures must needs be at hand when they are part of themselves. If your wish's scope be that they may imitate yourself, a sound consonant to that proportion must be added; and if your imperfections lie open to your own knowledge, divert them in your son by nourishment and education. And nurses' humours and diets ought not altogether to be ignorated, for where there must be addition and subtraction of spirits, those which are added, if they content you, ought to be like to them that are subtracted; and mother's teats by all circumstances are best answerable the health of the child, if her affections be as correspondent to your liking, health being dearlier to be regarded at first than the mother's disposition; for of the one proceeds assured ruin; for the other, well-sorted education will make amends.

Great parents are for the most part too tender and slothful to burden themselves with toil; their care, being wrested by a charitable love above ordinary, breeds a distemper more dangerous to a babe than a nurse chosen, not subject to these alterations; in whom let choler[1] be least predominant, for sucklings' spirits are soon set on fire, and become over volatile; and phlegmatic constitutions are more to be rejected; for adding of phlegm to phlegm prognosticates stiflings by emendations. To what temper you would have dispositions most leaning towards, apt it with a *principium* of motion out of nourishment, for so shall his labours in these courses be converted to ease and delights, being concordant in natural harmony to his bodily structure.

Ascending from this age to a time of greater ripeness, stricter care of the parents is more needful; and as nourishments were fittest in their cradle years chiefly to be tended, so now education to virtue, when

[1] MS., "colour."

the first shows of the intelligible faculties do appear, requires most necessity to be guided towards reason; for so shall education leave a form of goodness, when liberty, which absolutely is to be allowed in adolescent years, shall raze that form out of memory for a time, and, they being strayed and tired in their own ways, likelier it is, more joy will be conceived in a path already known than in one never acquainted with it; for wearisomeness desires ease, and ease safety, and safety groweth out of knowledge and assurance. And custom is not the least motive willingly to induce them forward to embrace it, when in themselves they are altogether disfurnished of anticipations in abundance to weave out of comparisons all forms and considerations to them most necessary. This custom begets an habit and aptness to incline to virtue and reason, and virtue and reason makes them happy in their days both to themselves and others; to others in their actions and good counsels; to themselves, out of true advice and mind's satisfaction, as well in future as present state: for there was never true counsels took ill effects, or ill effects proceeded from true and sound reasons, though sometimes to our understandings it might appear otherwise. And to effect good is but to propound and execute good grounds, God never punishing men with prevention, but when we deceive ourselves out of uncertain devices; and howsoever things be carried in manifestation, true reason cannot lie, if consequents fall out otherwise than our expectations, no doubt but ignorance had bemisted our understandings, and concealed some secret knots in them, which otherwise would only have promised, in all respects, but one and the same ends; therefore to come near to familiarity with true reason; disgested instructions must rest authentical, until such time as their farther knowledge out of a stronger judgment may give those

instructions either fallacious or allowable, which their small experience cannot grant them, therefore authorities must make some supply in the course of judgment for the defects of nature. Neither may authority be rejected altogether, when probabilities cannot call them in question, and probabilities are weak, when demonstrations are fee'd to be truth's counsellors. And education's scope being only to perfect a man perfect in four things specially, graceful manners, commendable exercises, true studies, and a well-fashioned mind, propoundeth these heads in education's course to be mingled severally and at several times, fittest for the nature you have to educate; for to some natures more pain must be taken in manners than exercises, and in exercises more than in studies; in others more in manners than studies, and in studies more than exercises; in others more in exercises than manners, and in manners more than studies; in others more in exercises than studies, and in studies more than manners; in others more in studies than exercises, and in exercises more than manners; and in others more in studies than manners, and in manners more than exercises; to others must be applied equal manners and studies, and less exercise; to other equal equal exercises and studies, and fewer manners; to others all three of them a like pains must be taken. And according to this combination the times must be observed; for in some dispositions manners must be taught before exercises, and exercises before studies; in others manners before studies, and studies before exercises; in others exercises before manners, and manners before studies; in other exercises before studies, and studies before manners; in others studies before exercises, and exercises before manners; and in others studies before manners, and manners before exercises; to others manners and exercises together before studies; to

others manners and studies together before exercises; to others exercises and studies together before manners and to others all three together without choice. These generalities, in some cases or other, all of them are profitable, some of them daily embraced, others more seldom, yet all of them in a strict form of education necessary to be known. From these total combinations, combinations of the parts, and combinations out of circumstances may be descended into, the use whereof is rather convenient to be left to the aim of judgment than description (all of them tending principally but to the bringing forth of a well-fashioned mind, which I title "reasonable," because if it be well fashioned, indeed it will entertain nothing but that is reasonable); and none of them but in their properties are helps to understanding either in making it appear in his height, or in the thing itself, and much understanding will ever be sure to make the shortest and best choice to that is good.

Beginning at the dry nurse's attenders, and wishing that graceful carriage amongst the rest might be ingrafted, for graceful affabilities multiplies more favourable estimations from the vulgar than true knowledge, and in show will promise much greater hopes, but the other like a secret underminer will effect more in the end, but both together most [of] all. Therefore I must say that their attendants ought to be men of the choicest civility rather than nursery company, whose gravities may be such as may give good example in things commendable rather than in womanly trifles; and yet their discretions so well sorted that they may make what they do beloved and liked; for the first part of their years consists very much upon imitation, and good fashions are as easy to be imitated as the contrary.

When none but good fashions shall be known, babish toys and exercises therefore to their thoughts

would be wonders, which afterwards will be far from their allowance when they have not been in use; for baubles once tasted of will unrack their observations from better notes, and habits once gotten and accustomed are pleasing to most dispositions; for ease to our natures is very predominant, and custom makes those things seem easier which are gotten than those that are in getting; therefore their first tongue-labour ought to be conversant with the best language, and their playfellows and companions are ever to be elected of the best and the civilest, the society of the baser sort are to be banished in all their sports and exercises; for where careless education hath had liberty, rude fashions cannot choose but follow, and uncivil manners carrieth everywhere with it the regard of scorn and disgrace. The contrary wins estimation, which way soever it look, amongst which are not to be forgot that unaffected gestures, cleanly table manners, comely attires, affable courtesy, modest language, tolerable mirth, and harmless actions are in the world's likings embraced. Neatness pleaseth, which way soever it be turned. Sluttishness is ugly in all men's eyes, and over-curious bears "False conceit" written in his forehead. Great cost in their attires argues the parents overprizing them, which will never give them satiety in that apparelled humour to be less desiring, but rather adds to greater vanities afterwards, for men naturally love not to descend in anything of estimation, until they know that descending brings with it either profit or honour. Mothers' tender cares to preserve them beautiful would be forgotten, for that procures effeminateness in their own overweenings, and stirs up in their thoughts endeavours only to the preservation of that silly reputation, and that reputation causes sloth in matters of greater weight; for glory in what subject soever will ever account that dearest and

most praiseworthy in which they esteem themselves most excellent and perfect in; and that estimation doth but rise from others' opinions, and those opinions do follow out of desert or flattery, and flattery out of divers ends in the end will transform a man unreasonable, if he be not the better able to disacquaint himself with partiality and overself-believing.

In this their tenderness, severity above all things is to be discarded, since familiarity would principally be in request to strengthen them with audacity, stillness may give them advantage in judgment over others, but disadvantage in coming forward, for most men do rather like by the show than choose by the worth, and neither silence or talking can long conceal him, if he have of the fool. Audacity unties the long strings of a strong wit, which then proves excellent; for if he be reasonable, he will never fail in idle babbling, and virtues must be wedged in with a stronger hold than by a peremptory severity. Their bodies would be accustomed to those hours and diets that are in greatest possibility to be used in their following days, for custom is of greater validity in the acts of the body than to the perfections of the mind; the one it graces with perfectness, the other it lends but an aptness for stronger grounds to knit up; therefore to hardness they would not be strangers, least they should be disabled in their bodies' abilities; for better it were to loose them at once, than always to be losing them. And it is requisite, their exercises be such as doth promise most use, either for the defence of themselves, or the service of their country; and those either to add strength to the body only, which sort are allowable; or strength and nimbleness jointly, which are rather to be cherished; or strength, nimbleness, and use together, which are most necessary; the first sort is casting, lifting, travel, and labour; the second sort is leaping, wrestling,

running, vaulting, and such like; the last sort is managing all sorts of arms, riding and swimming. Dancing amongst the rest may be admitted to grace the carriage; tennis for variety to procure nimbleness and health; but music, singing, cards, dice, chess, and the rest of this nature are but lost labour, being qualities neither profitable to themselves, nor anything else. For pastimes and recreations they are of most men tolerated, but he that cannot pass his time without them, in my conceit shall incur the suspicion of an idle member, and he that yields to them for recreation's sake, must withal be delighted in them, or else are they none; for laboursome it is that is not to the mind pleasing, and in them to be pleased I nominate a fault.

Their studies' labour ought to be put upon them with a careful industry, and in their first five years' infancy their brains would be least molested with that they cannot judge, whether it tends. The figures[1] of the letters they may know by the forms, but to what ends they are taught weak imaginations must be less cunning in than forwarder years; and in that time they shall learn much more by seeing than letters can teach them by writings; for the variety of eye's delight is more attractive to observation than 24 letters diversely transposed can give understanding; and lively discourses will have more life in their doctrine than dead men's sayings in collected papers. Therefore they ought to be eyewitnesses to as many passages in the world as is possible, and only instructed in matters likeliest to answer their fortunes. Their tutors would be conversant with them some years before their entrance into learning's task; who I wish should eschew all terrors' impressions, either out of idle fables or ugly spectacles, lest they leave behind them the remnants of a prejudicate conceit, which sometimes may hinder the full

[1] MS., "fingers."

scope of true reason; and yet to a free wit not available to the end they are at first intended, for none can be too confident in them but fools, to whom superstition is the best and necessariest guide. And much better it is that reasonable men should do well out of the knowledge that doing best is best, than fear to do evil for fear of that is the worst; the one does content out of true resolution, the other opens hell gates to the thoughts.

The worthy acts of their parents would be conversant with their ear's witness, their defects would challenge concealment, unless laid open with reprehension and disallowance, but then especial, when their abilities is best able to discern between good and bad; for the hearing of their virtues would colour them with shame, if they should degenerate, and parents' examples works wonders in the child's disposition. Valour comes chiefly by education, for all men naturally fear harm to themselves, except to fear be the greater hurt. Let their tutors labour an interest in their likings, that the actions they act should be prized of worth to be imitated, for children are won at first to love with very small trifles, and love approves any man's deeds in children's constructions, to whom they are linked with the chains of good conceit. If once this opinion be harboured, the labour will prove easy to bring them on to it with willingness, and willingness joined with labour will effect great matters in studies. In these curious precepts of learnings it is to be required that parents be both skilful, judicial, and vigilant; skilful to make choice; judicial to direct that choice, at least to be capable, what is best when it is told them; vigilant in their own cares lest sloth increase upon tutors' endeavours; for all men love ease out of a general ground, and other men's flesh is never so dear to them as their own. This choice would not altogether

depend out of what parents perceive of themselves, for many faults lie hidden that never come to light where predominance and obedience meets every day; therefore fathers nigh familiars must discover what they cannot see in person. Your judgment must be limited by your own reason, what courses is fittest to be prescribed; and the stronger your reasonable power shall be to direct, the greater the inheritance of happiness shall be you will leave to your child, for all stays will be weak which are not underlaid with knowledge; and unhappy is that child that hath a fool to his father. The execution of this must chiefly rest upon your own care, and so shall your son's mind be made beautiful by your endeavours.

Of all vices, let choler be least predominate in the tutor's disposition, for that will commit errors that are irrevocable. Faults that bring negligence with them are secondly to be shunned; and secret vices, that are of small durance, are least dangerous, for they neither minister example or give loss of time. To tutors, bounty would as soon lie open as to any, both to free them of cares how to live, and of hopes to do better in other places; yet given with that tie, as they should lose, if they were starting; for alterations in courses will much hinder a speedy perseverance, which of necessity must follow when there must be both time spent in feeling and understanding dispositions of both sides. In the first step of their learning to wade, the course is ordinary amongst all for the most part; only this is to be wished, so it be ministered with ease, that their labour should rather be employed in books well written for the phrase than chosen for the matter, because the first impression of a proper style gives facility in writing for ever; and pains would be used to fashion their hands legible, for haste will make it worse when they shall be called on to greater dispatch, ragged

characters – stammering in their delivery as much as a stattering speech – and it greatly hinders the beauty of a well-written subject; for often it adds travel to the reader and is much subject to misconstruing or not to be understood, both which may give hindrance to a necessary expedition, and only gain the reputation of a great negotiator. In their scribbling time copies would be collected out of the best writers to frame them perfect in good words; and amongst their other studies, composings in their natural tongue would be part of their daily exercise, for great is the commendation to write feelingly.

The attaining to the Latin is most of use, the Greek but loss of time; other languages are good and profitable, yet to be laid aside, until their own and Latin be perfected. Neither is it good to load their brains with over-many burdens at once, for that will but give them witty in show when they are young, and well-appearing fools in their age. Variety of studies will confound a young head and withal affect it with lightness and impatiency to persevere in anything to the full; and their choice will ever most affect the easiest, which commonly is the worst, so as their profit will be but manifest superficialities. Therefore their first travels being ended for language, whereby a possibility to understand all authors is gained, their minds would be wrought toward deeper contemplations, as Arithmetic, Geometry, Logic, Grammar Universal, Metaphysics, the Doctrine of Motion of the Optics, Astronomy, the Doctrine of Generation and Corruption, Cosmography, the Doctrine *de Anima*, Moral, Politics, Economics, the Art Nautical and Military.

For Arithmetic in his height containeth the general doctrine demonstrative of proportions, to all subjects appliable, whether they be continual or discreet, together with the rules of operation calculatory, both

absolute and algebraical, for finding out and resolving all problems and doubts possible mathematical.

Geometry teacheth of figures continual and discontinual, as lineal, superficial and solid, rectilineal, curvilineal, circular, helical, spherical, conical, cylindrical, not being exempt of the doctrine of triangles or angular sections fit for all demensurations; the consideration of which doctrine extendeth itself to all purposes, both theorical and practical, where there is consideration of the form, or figure of any thing, in which is comprehended a great part of our knowledge.

In Logic is contained the variety of all the doctrine of the powers and acts of the understanding, as divisions, compositions, applications, definitions, argumentations, with prescriptions of rules, for the aptest framing them fit, to enable the mind to judge with most ease and certainty either of what is delivered by others, or to know the way of composing them to your own satisfaction.

Universal Grammar being a necessary means to express our knowledges to others, or to the delivery of them to posterity by record, is worth the intuitive beholding: by Universal Grammar is meant, not those rules vulgarly taught for the attaining of any received language (for that before I have spoken of), but such a doctrine general, as discovereth amongst the whole variety of means sensible the best ways to signify the conceits of our minds to others in present or future, at hand, or any remote distance possible, and in any time given that is possible, either indifferently to all, or with purpose to some certain, and in all cases, either of necessity or discretion. In this doctrine the rules and conditions of language and characterism in his height are generally delivered, cutting of all equivocations and synonomies, which vulgar tongues are too much pestered withal, and the very root of most of our errors

and controversies in opinion, together with the grounds of all occultations, cipherings, decipherings, etc.

The doctrine of the Metaphysics containeth in it the division of *Ens* in his full scope and amplitude, which *Ens* ought first to be known, to conduct our knowledges to all arts that follow, which as yet is very slenderly delivered and uncertain, itself being a general stem from whence all other subjects of sciences do spring.

The Doctrine of Motion delivereth elements certainly demonstrative, for all other parts of natural philosophy, as well speculative, that tendeth to the discovery of natural motions merely, as such that layeth open the structure of all organical engines artificial, whether they be by weight, springs, fire, air, wind, water, vacuity, rariety, density, upon what grounds soever they be caused, or for what use soever invented, either civil, nautical, or military.

The Optics treateth the path demonstrative to salve all diversities of appearances to the eye, the objects of which sense hath received the greatest dignity of the rest, as yet there being no regular method of doctrine declared, but of this only, for of hearing and the rest, certain it is, there is a way, if it were well thought of.

Astronomy is the science that furnisheth with hypotheses and rules for the satisfying of us of the motions, distances, magnitudes, retrogrations, stations, directions, of every one of the celestial bodies, together with their mutual aspects amongst themselves, not arbitrary and fantastical, as most of them are given us, but such as are necessarily concluded from true foundations, consonant to all the former course of Philosophy; withal delivering rules and tables, framed out of these philosophical methods, to calculate the whole state of those celestial bodies, positions, or any

part of them (as the planets) for all places and times; the use of which doctrine, besides the inward satisfaction it hath yielded the best wits, rather admiring the beauty of the same than comprehending his whole secrets, may withal embrace the doctrine of predictions, one of the highest points of human wisdom.

The Doctrine of Generation and Corruption unfoldeth to our understandings the method general of all atomical combinations possible in homogeneal substances, together with the ways possible of generating of the same substance, as by semination, vegetation, putrefaction, congelation, concoction, etc., with all the accidents and qualities rising from those generated substances, as hardness, softness, heaviness, lightness, tenacity, frangibility, fusibility, ductibility, sound, colour, taste, smell, etc. The application of which doctrine satisfieth the mind in the generation and corruption, as also for the qualities of all substances actually existent, as air, water, earth, stones, wood, metals, and the homogeneal parts of animals and vegetals, etc., which part of philosophy the practice of Alchemy does much further, and in itself is incredibly enlarged, being a mere mechanical broiling trade without this philosophical project.

Cosmography is not altogether to be neglected, serving for great use in many both active and speculative courses; active, as navigation; speculative, as the structure of the earth, and the watery element; by the speculations of which main points may be deduced.

The Doctrine *de Anima* unfoldeth exactly the substance, quiddity, qualities, conditions, that are necessarily agreeing to a substance of this kind, withal discovereth how those dispositions, powers, operations, passions, mutations, and motions, which are observed in our own souls by ourselves, or in other men's by effect and signs, or in a substance of that nature. This

doctrine being the end and scope of all the former speculations, and without this ends satisfaction were due as a recompense, to all the former labours, frivolous I should hold the pains taken; as it is the end of all speculative meditations, so is it the beginning of all practical directions that are to be well acted and the properest use; for from this Doctrine *de Anima*, together with the rest of the speculations mentioned, moral virtue will be produced of necessity, not that morality that consisteth upon precepts only, irregularly delivered, but a morality that will place those irregularities that are to be chosen according to the dignity of their worth, and a morality that shall frame all moral acts to the best use both for ourselves and others, albeit there were no precepts delivered or all of them forgot, which kind fitly may be named, the natural morality, the other artificial. And this morality, mixed with the rest of the doctrines, will form a politic demonstrative, not consisting upon stories and examples, but out of grounds more certain and infallible, which politics must needs reduce an economic general to the best fashion of government.

The Art Nautical and Military cannot sleep in imperfection if we be masters of these speculations, neither can our knowledges challenge ignorance in them, using but small labour when there shall be cause.

And from all these knowledges must needs be created a well-fashioned mind: a well-fashioned mind I call it when it is free from perturbations and unseemly affections. Knowledge must keep up the matter, and ratiocination must play the workman, then will the building follow of necessity beautiful, if the former principles be truly acted; for the very means to quit ourselves of these ugly perturbations are to esteem nothing of the world at an over-value, for so shall we sorrow ever, neither anything at an under-rate, for so

shall we err often. This is the groundwork of tranquillity, which will ever free us from hate, teach us never to love with passion, never to despair with disquiet, never to hope with folly, never to sorrow with repentance, never to overjoy, never to be disorderly angry, never to envy, never to be drunk with glory, never to be drowned in ambition, never to overestimate wealth, never to wallow in sensuality, nor commit errors of passions or affections, but in a measure, which will ever appear in the end after the rate of our knowledges. For superficial understandings can but put on superficial and outward contentments, and where passions are bridled but by force they will be found in their right shapes of necessity, to ourselves ever, to the world often.

An. 1609

THIS DISCOURSE, which concerneth officers and servants, written fourteen years after the former, wherein I begun to bestow upon you my last gift; a will and testimony continuing in me, and still must so long as I have a care to amend in you the errors I have found in myself; perhaps delivered out of glory to see what I could say, or out of good will to instruct you what you ought to do, or mixed out of both out of both ends: yet howsoever written, if you may make your profit thereby, I obtain one of my ends howsoever I gain the other. Wonder not at the alteration of the style, which perhaps you may find, for either have I forgot much since that time in looking after other matters of greater weight, or lost much form in phrase, which youth pleaseth itself commonly in. In this, the chief precepts I am to deliver are the accidents that have oftenest befallen me of this economical nature, things likeliest to be more exemplary to you than to others, because you are to follow me in my fortunes, place, and what I was born to. If anything come in *obiter* that is worthy the noting, these precepts will show you it in the plainest characters I could devise, since I know that things plainliest written are the best way for doctrine; fine phrases and laboured styles are but to please.

Therefore in this Economical Government six principles are to be observed, wherein, if you be your arts master, great errors shall never be committed. Three of them are for yourself to do; other three are for you to

know, will be done by officers for the most part, because men are men. You must not think to find gods of them for knowledge, nor saints for life; they must be subject to their affections and passions; they will choose that which they shall think to be best for those ends they aim at, although their conclusions will be but paralogisms and ignorance, if well disgested, as most things under the sun are. I see not how it can be otherwise, especially in them, since officers are men for the most part, if it be well marked, but of the ordinary strain of understanding. If they chance to be of higher conceit, then shall you find it most commonly but in some one particular, in which they have been much beaten and most conversant in. Or if otherwise it fall out that they be extraordinary in general for knowledge, they will never incline and yield to that occupation, if not led on either by youngness of years, which must have beginnings to enter the world, or some slothful or licentious humours that are their masters for the time. But commonly want is the main agent to make them run that course. Thus much I say, because you may see what their diseases are, and, their diseases discovered, you shall be the better able to minister fit remedies to satisfy them and not hurt yourself. For I say, not to give succour and relief after that proportion you are able out of your fortune to such as waste their time in your business is inhuman and dishonourable; for them to gain by deceit from you, which is not fit for you to give, is wickedness in them, and folly in you to let go; whereas, using the contrary, you shall be able to give more with less loss to yourself, and they prove to gain more in the end with more honesty to themself.

And this I must truly testify for servants out of experience, that in all my fortunes, good and bad, I have found them more reasonable than either wife,

brother, or friends; and why it should be so the case is manifest. A wife can be but a woman subject to much weakness, and yet their passions and desires strong, if not stronger than others. Brothers, young and inconsiderate in the former part of their years (if not some rare and extraordinary nature), whose humours, if not satisfied to the full, as they conclude is due to them out of the rights of birth, being born of one flesh and blood, or as some shall tickle their fancies, with the defence of an equality to be most just and consonant to reason, presently they will be angry with laws that have made a difference, and with the elders, if they share not to the proportion of their desires. The last of these which concern friends; I have found so many and so weak hearted in cases of adversity, inclining so much to the overloving of their own particulars, that the very respects of common humanity and fortitude have been laid aside.

The principles that I mind to give you a taste of, are these:

1. First that you understand your estate generally better than any one of your officers.

2. Secondly, that you never suffer your wife to have power in the manage of your affairs.

3. Thirdly, that your gifts and bestowing of your actions be your own without intercession of others.

The other three that are to be observed to proceed from your officers and servants are these:

4. All men love their own eases, and themselves best.

5. Envy will ever be hatched where multitudes are drawn together.

6. Men easily will not be removed out of a track of life once entered into; for the effects at hand are ever more persuasive and apparent than those which are more remote, which will ever seem more impossible and hard to be compassed.

First Chapter

THESE SIX[1] CHAPTERS following endeavour to lay open the Three Principles and Three Cautions already given, both by way of reason and experience, as I have found them mixed together.

The First Principle, that enjoins you to understand your own estate generally better than any your officers, is very plain the very best at the first cast of your thought thereupon; and I say the father commits no small fault towards his son that labours him not in it in his young years; for ordinarily I have marked that all men that consume their estates are for the most part ignorant what they have; what the worth of it is; what the particular commodities thereof may be; how difficult it is to gather together so much, not apprehending the very bulk of such sums as that would be, being sold or bought. In great expenses very few have ever seen together the hundredth part of that was wasted, and Princes, that have ever been most frugal in my observation, have been acquainted with the gross of their treasure, at sometimes with their own eyes.

The humour is so tickling and easy, when any affections or desires do move, to say, borrow, sell, buy, give, lend, as the evil is not known before the smart is felt, and yet shall he never behold more for it than an auditor's collection once in a year, or once in his life, perhaps never. That this principle is manifest, true and sound, I must use these reasons and experiences

[1] There are only three chapters; presumably, on revision, Principle and Caution were drawn together under one head.

for proof; both in ancient times and in latter years they have been held in greatest honour that knew most. Oftentimes they were reputed as gods whose understandings did so excel others that it was believed nothing could lie secret from their knowledges, whether the knowledge grew by inspiration, or by art, or by deceit, or by intelligence, or what way soever, or in what kind of government soever; yet did it fix in men awe, obedience, reverence, honour.

In the same sort must your understanding above your servants work the same effects in this degree of economical carriage; for, believe it, servants are never bold to deceive but where they find the master weak or careless by overbelieving; and, I must needs say, that it is the master's fault, if an evil and dishonest servant serve him long. Masters may know very well, there is but few main knowledges required in this business, and that is, either skill in his own affairs, or to gain true informations out of faithfulness of the servant, or out of factions. The first of these I have so explained and laboured by books of surveys, plots of manors, and records, that the fault will be your own, if you understand them not in a very short time better than any servant you have. They are not difficult now they are done, they are easy and yet cost me much time and much expense to reduce them into order; by them shall you direct and see when your causes proceed well or evil, slowly or swiftly. And it is not my meaning to make you a slave to your wealth, or a whole acting instrument to your profit; for that were base, too much tasting of the clown, and loss of time from more worthy matters that your calling and place would move you to. For you to sit at the helm of your own estate, to direct well with expedition and ease, will be a means of upholding your honour with a good report, without the dislike of your neighbours, whose goods otherwise

necessity will cause you to covet. The other two points concerning the art of informations will more properly fall in the fifth chapter than in this; therefore till then I will suspend them, and tell you what mine own experience hath taught me in my lifetime to be true in this case of ignorance in mine own fortunes.

At my first entrance into the governing of mine own, after the death of your grandfather, I, being young, my father's officers adhered to me, almost all of them; some of them to my mother, as commonly you shall ever find the wife will have the second choice; for servants' dispositions are such that they will rather elect to be a principal officer in a less house, then a second in a greater, if the difference be not very much unequal either out of means or other circumstances. Yet all of them packed together to serve their own turns, one excepted, whose humour was a little sourer than the rest, thinking to gain by good desert of me, not considering that the disability of my judgment in those matters could minister but weak understanding, to make true distinction between plain dealing and flattery. Yet was he a chief adviser to my father, in my father's time, to keep me from the knowledge of mine own; partly to please, for aged fathers commonly love not to see their children gape after their dissolutions (how well soever they love them) if not altogether the better tempered and wiser; partly out of an ancient education in our country received, proceeding from the authority of parents, then more used than now (and I think the severity of the Church was one principal cause in imitation of which we were led on to this custom; why the Church should have it in estimation, I leave it to farther thoughts) – but this one thing is worthy by way of note, that men commonly, of what vocation soever they be, cross their own designs by their own fore acts, in that they most labour to attain to.

This is true, whether the desire of man be for honours, liberty, or wealth, etc.; for there is ever somewhat appears to be good for the present that beguiles them or theirs in their main ends.

At the same time, when the thirds came to disposing and dividing, they blessed me with another good turn that turned to my loss afterwards; for they made me pass to your grandmother for part of her jointure all the western lands, whereby she received more fines in her lifetime, being but £120 yearly, than I did of all the lands I had in England besides, I paying the rest of her jointure by equal portions yearly, so as she received all the best profit that the western lands would afford, and the rest without trouble or care was laid at her doors.

Another good turn, either out of discretion, or out of faithful love to their master's eldest son, was added to this, which I think their consciences did not tell them was their old master's will; for if ever father loved a son, he did me (and whether his death was such as vulgarly it was bruited, is not for this place), only this I must say and conclude, that his care was to leave me well to maintain the honour of his house behind him. His servants have often confessed it to me, so as they could not be ignorant, nor I believe otherwise. Yet, as I said before, breath was not sooner out of his mouth from whom they had all their means or most part, but that they procured letters of administration for your grandmother, the goods being forfeited, a blow of ten thousand pound to me, so as I came to be an Earl of Northumberland so well left for movables, as I was not worth a fire shovel, or a pair of tongs; what was left me was wainscots, or things riveted with nails; for wives commonly are great scratchers after their husbands' deaths, if things be loose. Some answer that of right it was hers; yet may it be replied

that out of conscience somewhat ought to have been left and reserved. If these had been young servants and newcomers, the wonder had been the less; but they were cousins, old servants, counsellors, and such as some of them had told fifteen years, some twenty in his service. They had their rewards out of the western lands that yielded them three lives in reversion, which advantage my mother got, and they gave her, knowing the tenure of those lands yielded that power out of custom of the manors.

The ground and root of all these absurdities I can attribute to nothing more than want of knowledge in mine own estate; an ignorance fostered in me by my father's concealing of that was fit for me to have been made acquainted withal, either to cause obedience in keeping me under, or to hinder some prodigal expense in some small trifles. Hand in hand with these followed many inconveniences that my time hath tasted of, and the ground, as I said before, by not being taught the secrets of my estate before I had use thereof.

Being thus well fitted with officers, as you have heard, followed then my judgment of electing the rest of my servants, every one making most haste, who should prefer themselves and their friends the soonest; for the harvest was grown ripe, and fit for the sickle, since want of experience made me negligent in picking them out fittest for my profit, though wise enough to choose them answerable to my humour, which was to be young, handsome, brave, swaggering, debauched, wild, abetting all my young desires; and all these had their shares with me in my little fortune. Some out of wasteful expenses that they nourished in the house, others out of gain of clothes, out of my credit in mercers' and silkmen's shops; others by defalkings part of debts from the true owners, using delays of payments to the creditors, if they did not condescend,

baffling my honour by this foul dishonesty, too common in the world amongst servants of careless masters; other out of false disbursements in extraordinary expenses, being favourites of the chiefer officers; and much more out of want of good counsel from these green heads to give, and myself to take, not being apted as then out of want of teaching before. Then were my felicities (because I knew not better) hawks, hounds, horses, dice, cards, apparel, mistresses; all other riot of expense that follow them were so far afoot and in excess as I knew not where I was, or what I did, till out of my means of £3,000 yearly I had made shift in one year and a half to be £17,000 in debt. So as the burden of my song must still conclude ignorance in mine estate to be the main cause. Some may say, good counsels were no strangers to mine ears, for many bestowed them liberally upon me; but I must return my reply, that they were not to my judgment and understanding though to mine ears, and all because my father had not laboured me in that I was capable of. It is most true that time will teach sons in long time, otherwise called experience, without instructions of parents, but fathers commonly are inclined to flatter themselves so much with the length of their years, as they commit many irrevocable errors by way of deferring.

Thus being fallen into creditors' clamours, a greater discontent to me than some other, my lands being entailed, all our wits fell a consulting how this burden might be eased, my mind then being overwearied with the suits of poor people whose goods I had and could not satisfy, each calling for his own. Poor creatures waiting in every corner made me think a back door an honest sally to escape their importunities, a disease that haunteth an honest mind and a great debt. Well, woods were concluded the next means of relief, so as the axe was put to the tree, and officers being forward

to clear themselves of their bonds, least an untimely death might give them future troubles, made so speedy sales, as within a few years was sold the value of £20,000 well worth £50,000, jewellers and silkmen making their nests in the branches.

I cannot choose but note mine ignorance in this amongst the rest, and their carelessness in the husbandry to be no less. In preserving of woods that might easily have been raised, the memory of good trees in rotten roots doth appear above ground at this day; being forced now for the fuel relief of your house at Petworth to sow acorns, whereas I might have had plenty if either they had had care or I knowledge. But if you conceive that others will cast their thoughts so often and attentively of your affairs as you will do yourself, if you understand them, you will find yourself deceived in the reckoning, and learn the experience by loss.

Here rested not the course of mine infrugality, for although indiscreet sales did give me some ease, so withal it enticed me on in the meantime, being fed with a continual supply; for not understanding what was done in these untimely bargains, and those about me wanting charity to teach me the errors I run, I learned nothing at the present (but short precepts sometimes by way of discourse, a fashion of doctrine that many think they do well in because they understand the matter themselves, not considering that a young wit must be led on in a more serious advice which for the most part men either know not how to manage or will not take the pains to effect) whereby I might be induced to hold my hands in other matters following; for easy supplies and prodigal expenses do ever strive who shall be foremost.

Now woods being gone, fines only rested to come in play, the grass being cut under my feet for my western

lands, as you heard before. Northumberland, Cumberland, and Sussex being but copyholders if inheritance would yield nothing. A little pittance in Yorkshire remained wherein commodities might be raised, the tenants, having few years to come, by persuasion of officers I renewed their estates for twenty-one years, made £1,700 fine, and lost by that bargain almost £3,000 a year till the time was expired. The benefits that fell to my share were that the tenants prayed to God to bless their worships; waited on them to all their pleasures, feasted them, and lodged them well; little bribes now and then was discovered to be taken; great ones, I doubt not, were had, though carried more closely, and thus in pomp jingling up and down the country with their gilt bosses, and studded trappers, their tails being at ease upon soft seats, were auguries of an evil turn towards me, and a warning to you to eschew glorious officers and servants as a pest to your estate. And could anything be imputed to be the reason of this (since in mine own time it hath been amended) but the want of knowledge of mine own ? Some lands were sold and more would have been if I could at under rates. For other petty and scattered demises, I will only remember in the catalogue of this account wherein mine ignorance (for I will lay it upon nothing else) lost me, what in letters of administration, in partition of thirds, in giving in honeymoon time or unadvisedly, in sales of woods, in demises of lands, and sale of some little £60,000 or £70,000. Things being brought to this pass, and my hands being tied from a farther expense than a yearly coming in, most of these ancient officers drew their necks from under the yoke and left me to care for myself.

Well, within a little time, these errors having unmasked themselves to me, I began to take up, and to look to mine own affairs, partly constrained by an

imperfection that God laid upon me to call me back, partly out of necessity, so as in time I redeemed myself out of the disquiet of disquieted thoughts, endeavouring to hug in mine arms faithful servants, jewels too too precious, and to discard such as my knowledge told me were corrupt instruments to me. I must confess I was forced to discard to the very kitchen boys before things could be settled as I wished; for you shall ever find it that servants will strive what they can to uphold any liberty winked at before if anyone of a former corrupt family be left. And it is strange that in a household where men are gathered together from all the corners of the world, not likely to continue in that state two years to an end, how strongly they will plead custom, if it be but a loaf of bread or a can of beer, which, when they have, they will give it to dogs rather than lose it, with this proverb, "The Lord payeth for all." In the end I lighted of those that liked me well after many discardings, the trial being sufficiently confirmed by servants of seventeen years' standing, and most of fourteen, twelve, ten continuance, and so now more likely to continue than ever.

I will not be so self-conceited to say it was my government and understanding did bring this about wholly, neither will I lay it upon fortune in my choice, for that were childish to him that knoweth that there is nothing without a cause. But I will conclude my understanding mine own affairs, although but in a mean degree, and their understanding that honesty is best where dishonesty is in hazard to be discovered, were somewhat reciprocal in this act; yet was not this feasible that I had not some evil measure offered in their carriages; neither could any way, that ever I could use, free me from absolute cozenage, and the most frequent will be ever found in the meanest, which, if it may not be helped as you would, must be done as well

as you can, for so as main matters of this kind be cared for, the loss will be the less in the less, which was not much material in my latter time because there was little matter to work upon.

Time having well worn all humours of riot, experience made me think it good to leave you this under mine own hand enough to persuade you to be best able yourself in your own affairs, if you can. I thought it not too much digressing to conclude with this maxim so infallible, yet so dainty to be handled and used as nothing more; for easier it is, and more ways there be for one man to deceive you than for you to deceive yourself; much more for many men to deceive you than you to deceive yourself, since men's ends are secret to themselves, and combinations will deceive the wisest men of the world, or give so much pain in preventing as it will not be a work worth the labour.

This maxim seemeth to repugn that general and wholesome received opinion amongst men of taking counsel and condemning peremptoriness; an opinion for mine own part I cannot consent to as they deliver it ordinarily, rather falling into the imputation of an evil nature (for so they are termed that will not be easy) than sweet and gentle by losing the grip of mine own strength. So as I must say that peremptoriness, if you be wise, is better and graver than to be facile; if foolish, then there may rest some dispute in the case and yet the reasons will be in some proportion of equality, if not overbalancing of my side; for in taking counsel I differ not much from my former; and that is, if you be wise, hear but do as you list; if foolish, hear and follow, so you be sure of honest men. It is not the ignoranter sort my pen points at; my precepts looks at them that are held in the rank of the wise, and so will I proceed to the handling and use of this stiff course whereby good may follow, harm less ordinary,

Those that you have to govern in your family are of two sorts, the better and the meaner; of the better sort, especially of your chief instruments there are few, and they in very deed if you understand them well, not properly so fit to direct the greatest businesses as to execute the greatest business, and to direct the smaller, the prime direction being ever the master's work; otherwise shall you be but a master in show, and not in deed. The meaner are only to execute the smaller businesses and to do as they are bid, which you shall find difficult enough to lead them to, although they cannot live without you, and will look for a reward because they have eat your meat; for it is impossible for any man of a great estate and of an eminent fortune in the world to manage every particular well without subordinate instruments; therefore in some degrees must they be pleased that are your overseers, so as you make them not masters of yourself by giving too much power into their hands; an error you will not keep out from you at the arms' end, unless you be very circumspect and full of caution.

If you trust overmuch, well may you purchase ease, but withal danger of insolency in them, and contempt toward you in the meaner sort towards your commands. If too reserved and overstrict, danger of loss of time in the speedy dispatch of that you have to do with contempt of your meaner instruments toward them; for if the meaner sort see not trust conferred upon the chiefer, they will soon espy it, and grow to neglect. On the other side, if they discover too much they will quickly become their servants in hearty obedience, and yours but in ceremony. To temper this well you must labour as much as may be that your servants' opinions of you be venerable, so shall your commandments be as laws to them, either out of awe or conceit; and I know no better way than that they may find your mind inclined naturally to justice and severity, hiding

from them any notable vice you know to be in yourself. Again, to content your chief instruments is to give them hearing of that they shall advise. If it happen their counsels to be unsound, show them their errors out of reason, and rather make a fault in displeasing them than yield to that you know shall not be good.

If their counsels be sound or happen to jump with that you had concluded before in the inward of your determinations, never attribute the same to your own wit, but to their advice; so shall you please them, since it is against the nature of ordinary men to give counsel if it be not believed or followed, and most men will hold their peaces, if every hour they be told they are fools by not following that they say. For hardly shall you meet with that love in servants that will always tell you what he thinketh best out of duty, without pressing too much or saying too little.

Precepts of this nature, and somewhat depending of this I leave to the following chapters for your collecting, and proceed to my next observation. You being become your arts' master in this kind of trade, this mischief amongst the rest will consequently be cut off from hurting you; I mean the endearing of servants, a policy rife in their commonwealth; a disease that great men are most subject to, and the greater the more subject, if either idle in their dispositions, or slack in their understandings; for once bring it but to pass that your servants do find that you need them not, and that if one be gone to-day, you can make another do your business as well to-morrow, you shall purchase to yourself from them awe, respect, obedience, carefulness, love, plain dealing, contentedness with less, and indeed all things else that belongeth to this mystery of governing; where, if otherwise, you shall be plotted on with combinations, with tricks, with devices of necessity, as your hands will be tied before you know where you are.

Cap. 2

CONCERNING THE SECOND principle that is to be observed, teaching that you should not commit the managing of your estate to the discretion of your wife, in some sort, and in some cases is not absolute. For I am not ignorant that the wife is given, both by nature and policy, as an adjutrix to the man by wise men's opinions; my censure aiming but of wives of great men, not at wives of the poorer sort, whose families consists perhaps but of a man and a wife alone, or of a man, wife, some children, and few servants. In these I must needs grant that the managing of some home causes are to be conferred upon them. But in cases where businesses are to be directed abroad or at home, if it be not in trifles to keep their minds from idleness, I think it not altogether so necessary. For, believe it, where soft hands are held an ornament and fair faces must be preserved, neither the hand nor the eye will be far extended to any business; which will happen for the most part in great men's houses, and therefore in that kind I will only proceed to the handling of this point; considering that whosoever falleth into much uxoriality in this nature, for the most part it groweth out of some of these ends; either esteeming their sufficientness at too high a rate; or for quiet (they desiring to have rule, otherwise would chide); or out of ease, because the husband would be slothful and give himself to his pleasures; or out of profit, knowing the pinching humours of wives, when they betake themselves to sparing, that being seemly for them to do that is not fit for a man to look after.

Other ends I know none to persuade, therefore let us examine how far this matter of their sufficiencies ought to sway us. Either is it out of the abilities or properties of their bodies, or of their minds, that they excel in; or else we shall err grossly to give it way. Their persons I will consider as they are, not as it is possible they might be, if either the Amazonets' government were afoot or Plato his commonwealth put in practice. Their bodies you may perceive to be very tender out of extreme humidities, and this do all our physicians agree in, so as their spirits are not held to be of that vigour and robustness as men's are; for hot and dry spirits maketh quickest and strongest motions by all men's consents. Neither are their limbs of that ability to perform, for they are slender, weak, delicate, and less commonly, partly by their tender using of their bodies to preserve their beauties, one of their dearest treasures; partly out of modesty that alloweth them not those exercises that increaseth strength and bigness; and partly by the very growth of nature, as all females are, some few scratching kinds excepted, who have predominant power over the male. So, as hereby may be inferred, that nature itself hath forbid that men should surcharge them with businesses that is not fitting for them, although they out of their ambitions shall affect it.

Some other adherents in nature there are that excuseth them from much toil in affairs, and layeth a great burden of indiscretion in the man that expects it at their hands, I mean their ordinary courses that consumes no small time of their years in invalidities and childbearing, that maketh them very unwieldly, both in their indispositions of mind in that they are sickly, and in their carcases in that they are loaden. My pen could not slide over the greatest impediment of all, an accident so cleaving to their persons as their honours

cannot be saved without suspect, or the affair subject to take detriment; for would it not be very unseemly for women to run alone to every private chamber, or very slenderly accompanied upon every occasion that would require it? Or would not their habits and attires (whether so devised out of policy at first to keep them by certain restraints within the bonds of modesty) show them very ugly if either they imposed themselves to too much dabbling, whereby their garments should be tucked up, or to the unmercifulness of winds, that might make men say at every instant, "*Ecce Corinna venit tunica revelata*," etc.

Thus far for their persons. Now to the abilities of their understandings, let me say somewhat; not that I would detract anything from their wits, as they are naturally tempered as ours be, neither grant them impossibilities by way of miracle, for either from above it must be given supernaturally, or they must attain to it by the ordinary means that all men do get it by. Their extraordinary inspirations I will not examine; for their ordinary ways of learning, consider but their educations and it will appear almost impossible for them to be extraordinary or nigh most men; for upon that point chiefly must consist the dispute. A probable inference out of this general phenomenon may be gathered that seldom it is seen that men grow to high understandings that attain not to it either by discourse, practice or reading; and I will say very seldom by any of these alone, if learning be not the foundation whereby their wits may be so improved as to make them capable to receive what shall be delivered. For when was it seen that ever any was excellent in matters of government that was not somewhat inseen into the laws of the land, into the common passages of customs of man to man, and into the natures of commerce in the world? Mark but women's educations from their

cradles, how they are led from one age to another, what their exercises be, what they are taught, the company that is most conversant with them, and then shall we perceive clearly that their bringings up can promise no deep insight into matters of knowledge, but such as are soon got and easily learned, not expecting greater matters of them than such as will make them as wise at fifteen as at fifty; and this may you observe generally, that women at very young years are as grave and well fashioned as ever after for their outward carriage, making small progresses in any learnings after (saving in love a little craft, and a little thriftiness, if they be so addicted out of disposition), handsomeness and trimness being the idol of their hearts, till time write deep wrinkles in their foreheads. In men it is not so always, though many there be that make very slow proceedings.

Their cradle age can promise no more than other children's do, for their usage is all one; after some few years they may perhaps be taught[1] to read and write, so continuing on till they have learned it rather to keep them from idleness, the wind and weathers, than of any intended desire of the parents to make them make their profit thereby, which will plainly appear in one toy of their educations, I mean in the true writing of true orthography; for how few of them can do it, or doth it ? Not that it is an impossibility for them if they were applied, but that parents hold it not much material for them, and therefore they do not labour them in it; and if any do excel any their fellows in matter of language, as some ladies do, if it be in French, commonly you shall find it no further improved than to the study of an *Amadis*; if in Italian, to the reading of an Ariosto; or if in Spanish, to the looking upon a *Diana de Monte Major*; if in English our natural

[1] MS., " thought."

tongue, to an *Arcadia*, or some love discourses to make them able to entertain a stranger upon a hearth in a privy chamber. I must confess now and then some of the virtuouser sort will cast their eyes upon the higher arguments of the Scriptures, as of faith, regeneration, glorification, transubstantiation, participation of merits, etc. The rest of their times and almost all parents' care is spent rather to fashion them modest, neat, graceful, obedient to draw on the likings of husbands, whereby fathers may put them off and provide them fortunes during the rest of their lives, that must be got either when they are young or never, for then are they the prettiest; not leaving them to work out their preferments by other endeavours, as by learning, the sword, and other virtues of this nature.

Besides, mark but their conversations for the most part, and it is but of nursery company whiles they are young, where their discourses are not ever of the mightiest businesses; or if extraordinarily they do converse with men, what will be their entertainments but to tell them that they are fair, proper witty, and pretty passages of mirth, flattering them to gain their good wills? And why those good wills, I pray you, but to be masters of their honour? For I know not how it cometh to pass, but as soon as the fair face of a woman is beheld and liked, straight the fancies of men are cast down to the desire of enjoying another place, or at least either to be, or to be thought worthy to be, the master thereof. Can poor young maids, then, thirst after great understandings when neither their parents forces them to it when they are most docible, or their own judgments afterwards tells them that that is not the matter must most recommend them? How can you, then, conclude their sufficiencies may exceed yours for the most part? If it do not, can you resolve otherwise but that you commit an uncharitable act to

give your business into their hands, both to weary their tender bodies and to trouble their weak minds? For affairs are heavy if not well understood, and so the causes themselves will receive detriment only to please their humours, because they hold it disgraceful not to have the hand as other of their neighbours have, the chief motive that spurs them to the desire of being masters.

2. To the second consideration that hath for his object matter of quiet; an inducement that persuadeth some men to give way to their affection of governing, and very often hath been esteemed a wise consideration of men reputed wise in the world, though to my understanding I must esteem it a great weakness in the fortitude that ought to be placed in a man's heart. To discover, therefore, how wisely they do that yield or foolishly they that yield not, let us discourse in what points wives have power to give disquiet to a wise man; and it will be proved merely but to rest in the sharpness of their tongues; for they neither strike nor bite to any purpose, neither offer almost any cross of great importance, if men at first wooings be not precipitate in their bargains, making jointures over-large out of a little "love," as they call it; or that lands being entailed, they are to have their thirds by the course of the common law, in which case I have tasted some cross to my will which you I have freed from, if your understanding can teach you the way; for the laws hath given such power to husbands as wives can neither alien, set, let, give lands without the man's consent if they have any (much less if they have none of their own), during the husband's life, unless done before by way of trust, or by covenant before marriage not to meddle with any of theirs; a tie that necessitous husbands are forced to consent unto, and a true means to breed discontentment afterwards; and friends will be

found but inconsiderate that abets in those kinds of deceits, and men in these days will be hardly overtaken, this practice being but now young and not undiscovered, so as they will but deceive themselves in the end, and the sorrows will be theirs.

Lively examples are of greatest force among examples to persuade; and examples are nearest to life that happeneth to men of like quality, much more of a father in way of warning to a son. Because I have found it, it is worth the rehearsal. In my choice of a wife it was long or I made it; I had told thirty-one years or I took one, a time not ordinarily slipped by men of your calling who cometh to their livings at twenty-one; my resolutions being grounded upon these considerations of choice: first, that my wife should neither be ugly in body nor mind; secondly, that she should bring with her meat in her mouth to maintain her expense; lastly, that her friends should be of that eminency that they might probably appear to be steps for you to better your fortune.

My first end I attained to; the last I missed, and grew out of hope within one two years, for Essex and I were at wars within that time, and hindrances grew rather than love. The consideration of means I thought I had sure, and so did I, till sixteen years was spent that the cozenage of a brother-in-law (a mirror of honour to the world) and the deceit of a wife and many honourable friends, as they call them, did discover itself; for though I was strait-laced in matter of portion, yet, such as it was, there was used fraud. A lease for thirty years was granted to your mother from the Queen of tithes and impropriations, her father-in-law being attainted and losing all. Thus granted, though I married her within small time of her husband's decease, these leases were made over to her daughter, your sister-in-law, so as it was used as a

curb to me afterwards, not yielding to that allowance she required. It is very true; I was subtle enough, and knew enough of frauds in this kind, yet did the seeming honour of Essex make me careless; the fame of your mother's virtue made me negligent; the honourable race of both of them made me suspect no collusion, wherein I found many of their fingers dipped in afterwards both as actors and abettors. If this example be not lively enough to make you beware, I will give you up to your own loss and folly.

For them to threaten cuckoldry, either out of seeming or in deed – a stratagem sometimes used to impone an awe – that will soon be helped; for if they do it and you know it not, it is nothing of revenge to you, because you know it not. If you know it or suspect it, the revenge will light upon themselves, since you have means to put off the scandal from you by a separation, if you list; or if the act be public, there can no dishonour rise to a man by a woman's whoredom, being separated; so as this can be no way to disquiet a wise man, and the loss will be theirs in present and their own children in future, as men may handle the matter. Some will object farther, that they will be froward and perverse in their conversation and carriage, forbearing to do that a man would should be done. All this is nothing, when you have resolved that they shall be put to do nothing but that which, if they do not, the care is soon taken, having others to execute your affairs if your own leisure will not suffer you to wield all by your own personal act; and the pain is very small to let an unreasonable woman to sit still, and be angry without cause. Since, then, this trouble must rest only in the strength of their tongues, a weak instrument to alter the rational courses of a wise man; howsoever, nowadays it hath got a fallacious cover by a fallacious term only, and that is, to be called a "lady of good spirit,"

when as heretofore, when ladies were esteemed for the true act of the virtue of patience indeed, such were nominated "scolds." Thus may you see how the fallacy of a term may mislead a poor ignorant creature.

Let us but conceive rightly of them, and I take it there will be found no cause of disquiet, though they do talk preposterously and out of order sometimes; the fault more justly being laid upon ourselves to be angry than in them to endeavour to anger us; an affection, I must confess, very predominant in them, as it is also in the weakest sort of men. Revenge by way of hurt is more manly than commendable, but revenge by way of angering is fitter for a woman; and happy it is they have no greater power, for otherwise their tyranny would be insupportable for the time of their passion. I have understood them to be so violent sometimes, when they could not have their wills, as to threaten to act many mischiefs upon their own persons, which skilful men in the trade of their humours have remedied by offering furtherances to their threats; as, if they would needs kill themselves to give them a knife; if to hang themselves, to lend them your garters; if to cast themselves headlong out of windows, to open the casements; if to sound and die, to let them lie till they come to themselves again; so as to this day I could never hear of any that perished by these mournful deaths. These things are not much material yet worth your knowing; and therefore I will proceed to that part of reason that governs them most.

It is no arguing to them what is good to be done out of ratiocination; but what other bodies do, is their guide. Precedents is the thing that leads them; as, for example, of their liberties, not what is most modest for them to do, but "such and such does thus"; not what is fit for them and their children to wear out of the abilities of their callings, but "such and such wears this

and that"; not what is proper for them to give, but "such and such gives this and that"; not that painting is an unmodest ornament, but that "painting is the fashion"; and so in general their affections, grounded upon what others do, maketh the fault appear to them a fault or not, and not the quality of the fault itself; so as faults being more usual than virtues, their desires must needs be exorbitant for the most part; and shall not you then be much more blameworthy in being disquieted at their angers, than they to affect that which they conceive to be best ?

Do not you see daily that children affects rattles in their infancies, tops and scourges afterwards, then dogs and hawks, and lastly better and graver matters, if they be better furnished ? Doth it not appear by this that affections are but according to the measure of their knowledges ? That tender affections are never so strong in age as in youth, nor in wisdom as in folly and ignorance ? Will you be angry then at a poor woman that understands little ? Will you be disquieted if a child do like a child and cry, if he have not his will ? Or will you be troubled because a woman chides if she have not what she desires ? You know it is not long that it can last; or, if it do, the remedy I have ever found to be best is to let them talk, and you to keep the power in your own hands, that you may do as you list; so as in the one you shall curb them, in the other you shall weary them when they shall discern they cannot move you. For I have often known men not replying, women have chid themselves out of breath.

3. For the consideration of ease, the unreasonablest of all others, and most unbeseeming the nature of a man declares itself at full the weakness of the condition, having a longer train of discommodities than any of the rest, and dearly shall you pay for your ease when you obtain it by the industry of a wife. For I never

found in all my observations since I could discern of anything but whensoever the woman did govern, or seemed so to do, the man grew straight into contempt; and although I know it a very godly thing to hold oneself constant and loving to a wife indeed, yet withal have I often perceived, to hold it over-precisely in outward show gives some danger of an attribute of uxoriousness. Never did I ever know any man that was long constant to a mistress but lost of his reputation of a gallant and worthy man. Of great use I have known my mistresses in a court when either a lady governed all, or ladies ruled them that ruled all, and so as instruments to collude, or as spies, they are advantageous often. By which may be seen the danger that men incline to when they esteem them at higher rates than is convenient and seemly; though they for their own particulars are not to be condemned for their affections therein, because it adds to their glory when you seem not to prize them; and to grant them that which they call in their common language the accidents of a good husband, give them leave to wish it, being no other sense amongst wise men than to let them do as they list to save their wills, and in the end you to degenerate into the imputation of a wittol; not that I deny that men should not be good husbands in wise men's interpretations, that is, to use them by the rules of discretion, to give them that is fitting, so they be not their own judges; and to be kind in deed, and not outwardly with dalliances and attendances to be ridiculously obsequious; for by that means a man runs into great hazards of scorn, if bystanders see the manner that either understands them to have played false, or suspects them that they will play false upon good opportunities. Will not the disgrace of being coxed fall heavier upon him, and put her faults more into memory, than if in public he carried a graver and more commanding

fashion ? It is one of these two things must give a colourable argument of reason why a man should neglect his own affairs to impone them upon his wife; and that is, either home affairs of the State, as matters of justice or businesses abroad, as matter of employments of a great war; neither of which is sufficient, for the wisest men have time enough to hear, and instruments enough to execute far weightier causes than these, and so have they if they be commanders abroad; for men commonly employed in either of the two are men that petty gains will never make rich, neither will light wastes much hurt; therefore it is inexcusable to be slothful in this kind, and to give them into a woman's hands; much less your employments being none at all, as most men's are, but merely yielded unto out of ease; a monster to an industrious and understanding mind, and a wonder to me that sees so many fall into the absurdity every day. It will foster servants that continually will disesteem you; and how can it be otherwise, when as they by pleasing you shall neither have place or reward, by pleasing a master-wife both place and reward is at hand ? And very ordinarily shall you find it that although the man assume all power and authority to himself, yet will servants adventure rather to displease a rational master than a passionate mistress.

Grip into your hands what power soever you will of government, yet will there be certain persons about your wife that you shall never reduce – an usher, her tailor, and her women, for they will ever talk and ever be unreasonable; all which your officers will, rather endeavour to please than yourself, so as it be not in very main matters; and trifles often happening at the year's end come to a greater bulk of expense than greater sums seldom chancing; and loss will be easilier gained by this trick than you would think for; much more where the wife hath predominant power. In a house thus

governed, factions will be rife, as well amongst your own servants as amongst your friends and hers; for her friends will ever be the welcomest and best used, the train of women friends being ever the longest and most troublesome. And this will never fail with the rest; if she list to be gamesome,[1] the back doors will make less noise at the entrance of her servants than of your mistresses; for attendants will be slow to discover where no gain is to be got, nor fear to be conceived; and attempters will be the more confident when they know all is at the mistress's disposing; opportunities often drawing on suitors, which, being subject to be checked with loss of labour and dangers, will more willingly be let alone.

One more discommodity let me conclude this branch withal, that must follow very often if you be not master; and that is, your children shall never be instructed according your own discretion; for wives will have their wills, and will believe better of their own ways than of yours; and sorry will they be by an austere father to see their own faults told them every hour in their daughters.

4. To conclude with the last motive, of giving the affairs into a woman's hands, I mean for profit's sake; an argument liker to abide a defence than any of the former; and men will find my assertion perhaps rough, because they may know what it is to be as they are, but seldom can an inferior judge the truth of great men's humours, how it will be put forward or retired; not that it is impossible, but that men will not have the will to think of that concerns them not. For how can the counsel of a servant fall right with the mind of a great fortune, when as the one that is master but of a thousand shillings thinks the chiefest point of understanding and wisdom is to add a thousand more to shut beggary

[1] MS., "gainsome."

out of the doors in old age ? The other, which is lord of a great estate and plentiful in purse, thinketh but of giving ease to his mind out of the waste of some superfluities. What may please yourself and fittest for you, if you be wise, no man can counsel you better than yourself, if it fall within the compass of your occupation only being a nobleman, as matters of honour, virtues, knowledge, sumptuosities, or pleasures; what shall belong to you as a man, as they be or common to both, in that servants may put you in mind of many good passages, if they be honest, as of parsimony, husbanding of lands, feeding of men, etc.; for all these things are subjects of your necessities as well as of theirs.

The former discourse hath sufficiently unfolded wives' disabilities in foreign businesses. To take accounts, that is hard to them that have not used it, neither knows the ways, nor the methods; and to understand how an affair goeth abroad and govern it without passion is harder than that. This piece of dispute looking but merely after home business, and trifles within doors, nothing reasonably can be said to the contrary but that wives are the fittest, considering that their lives at home are very solitary for the most part; their leisures affords them time enough to overlook much. In those things so nigh their eyes they have judgment and skill sufficient; they are parsimonious out of nature, because gain, in common understandings, appears the greatest happiness; and many things about a house is proper to be looked to by them which a man of an excellent spirit will hardly deject his thoughts to think of. These are things much inducing to the allowance of it; but if the discommodities shall rise to be more than the commodities that are likely to follow, then are not my arguments altogether vain, and better were it to lose somewhat than to fall into worse inconveniences. The less unreasonable will this doctrine

of mine be found when men shall in a manner do the same that they can do, only this will be the difference, that you shall do them by your instruments; they will perform them by theirs; for I speak to noblemen's wives, and not to mean men's.

The great discommodity of all I will begin with; they will have the command of all your servants, who for the most part will be apt out of inclination to lean that way; for women's humours are steps nearer their reaches than wise men's can be; and more ways there be to cut the grass under a woman's foot to overthrow her, than under a man's; and whether their over-devotion to a mistress's beck and a wife's command lead not on with it a possibility of contempt, the nourishing of snakes in your own bosom; concealing of what would otherwise be known; disreputation in the world (who are most commonly carried with outward shows rather than inward truths, rather with the reports of the many vulgar than out of the secret knowledge of a few of the wiser) I leave to you to judge. But of this point of disreputation much hath been said in the considerations of ease and quiet. The very main burden of this song is but to give you that power in yourself that time, fortune, and the laws of nature hath made you master of, and not to degenerate and place it where it should not be, as upon your wife, children, favourites, or servants, otherwise than to make them your instruments, and not you theirs. Therefore let us consider the things wherein a wife's parsimony is to be shown, and they will be found very slight and trivial unless, as I said before, to keep them from idleness and worser thoughts.

The things that great men's wives ought to endeavour and are most proper for them in house affairs is to bring up their children well in their long coat age, to tend their healths and education, to obey their

husbands; matters of less moment which they are conversant withal is to see that their women, as their instruments, keep the linen sweet; that spoil be not made of household stuff; to have a care that, when great personages shall visit, to sit at an end of a table and carve handsomely. If they be such as they affect, either out of kindred or other kindness, you shall not need to doubt but that they will be vigilant enough not to see them want anything, either in bed or at board, whether it concern the best pillowbeers, the sweetest perfumes, the daintest sweetmeats, either of hips preserved, or eringoes, or well-musked and ambered marmelets, I will not say always to draw on appetites to do, but very oft to draw on appetites to talk modest bawdry, though it be with very near kindred: in which kind of quality, if they be excellent, it is one of a woman's ornaments, well commended everywhere, and a thing generally in use. Nothing is wanting to make this housewifery complete but to bring up young fellows to see how handsomely they lie; to leave them to keep your wife company, for that argues love and trust; and for you to look to things abroad whiles they are handling her thing at home, or at least discoursing that you handle it not well; for your imperfections, either to tax you out of anger or scoff at you out of scorn, will be the main subject of the discourse, once honeymoon and billing time being past, or else should they not show themselves witty.

The kitchen, buttery, or pantry are not places proper for them; a dairy is tolerable, for so may you have perhaps a dish of butter, a soft cheese, or some clotted cream once in a summer. Poultry and fed fowl I have seen their housewifery stretch to in the overlooking their dairy maids, for the commendations of a fat pullet's leg of my lady's own carving to a good palate is a great virtue – in a belly-god's estimation. To begin

great works, that will ever be in the beginning and never ended, with a little wasting of sleeve silk, for their pastimes I hold very necessary; and so perhaps in two or three ages a bed embroidered with slips may be furnished, or in some less time a purse, or a pair of hangers wrought by her own hand (for a servant) may be ended. There be those that have gained so fair a trust as to the keeping of the coffers, but I have ever found that empty purses are fitter for their cares than full ones, and hardly shall you find the wife of a wise man the governor of rich bags.

These toyish observations, albeit they be but ridiculous in themselves, yet by them is apparent the small profit can rise by their oversights, and yet such if it be put to a question whether fit to be done or not, no doubt but it is better to have small helps to help to order, than none at all; for small savings are better than lavish spendings, all other discommodities spoken of before being salved. Be it admitted that their industries could save somewhat, and that the whole manage of a house were in their directions; where would the savings go? Upon whom would it be conferred? Upon themselves and their own backs, if they be either loving ladies or would be thought to be beloved. The beef-pots would be translated into wardrops, and multitudes of servants into a few private bawds, either to their passions or their persons. Jewels is a kind of wealth much tickleth them in two respects; the one, because they think it draws on admiration; the other, because they hold it their own without account when a husband shall take his leave of the world. To lay it upon land – that suits not so well with their minds, because so they should leave an interest in the husband, no power remaining in them to bestow it upon a second husband if need be. For believe it, it is the nature of all women to hate to be thought not worth the occupying,

how old or evil favoured soever; to supply with humours, and to cast off that disreputation, wealth by them is much thirsted after; so as if they can scrape up anything that they may herd up, it is not for you; and I never knew but a second husband enjoyed the benefits got by the saving of a wife, rather than either yourself or your children; for time will make you less pleasing than a new man at the helm, and old kisses are unsavoury, though new ones are delightful.

To conclude their savings with an example that is very seldom fallible, it does demonstrate the love to themselves without so much respect to their children as they will make show for; and tell me how often you have ever heard or seen that women would persuade their old husbands rather to lay any cost upon that place that should presently descend to her son than upon that was allotted for her jointure, how dearly soever she loved him ? And this happeneth not seldom that the mother and eldest son never agree when the father is dead.

To shut up this branch of women's government, which sometimes hath fallen within the compass of my thoughts, to consider the reasons why in this state of England wives commonly have a greater sway in all our affairs than in other nations, Germany excepted, where their unmeasurable beastliness of drinking causeth a necessity for the wife to look to the business. So apparent is it in this commonwealth, as writers have scandalised us in some of their histories, to be so uxorious that to our guests we offer our wives and daughters as a compliment of entertainment. The cause of all this I could never conceive to proceed from other root than our hospitality, for where men resort meat must be had, and where over-abundance of meat is, there men will be no strangers. The man's care, if this hospitality be nourished, must be content to trudge

abroad; to employ his wife at home and not to spare the heels of his horse and carter[1] in the service. This necessity, I say, layeth a general rule of the house affairs upon our wives of England; makes her undertake seeing of things in order at home; entertaining all comers, conducting their guests to their chambers, careful for their breakfasts; keeping them company at cards; carving them at table; with many more compliments of this nature, which is not ordinary in other places and other nations.

[1] MS., "cater."

Cap. 3

TO PROCEED WITH my third rule, wherein you are willed to be the giver of your own gifts without the intercession or distribution of it by others, is but to make you master of your own, as it hath been desired in the former principles. This will not do it alone, but will give a help to the work; not aiming to persuade you to give like a God, that looketh for nothing back again; nor by the strict rules of virtue, that must give only for virtue's sake. My rules shall tend to give as one that expecteth a return again from them, either out of obedience to your person; or care of your profit; or love with integrity; or to ease you of some labours you cannot well undergo; or to be a diligent watch lest snares may be laid for you; and lastly, to bind your dependants without flitting that every day you be not put to study new men, new humours, new affections. If there be any judicial considerations in well carrying the former precepts in this there is a far greater master work: for, credit me, to give well and advantageously will ask a great deal of art: but how to give that you may have the thanks (since it is you must part with the benefit) in it lieth the mystery. In your givings, there are but these agents to rob you of the thanks; either a wife, or children, or kindred, or officers, or friends and favourites; taking "favourites" so general as it may be any of these if you put more trust in any of them than a rational confidence; and by them one of these ways you are to be wrought upon:

1. Either by their bestowing of your love or your hate;

2. Or by bestowing your actions either to leave this or take that;

3. Or out of your expenses and government to bestow graces, eases, favours, by way of conveniency;

4. Or lastly, by bestowing your wealth and means in being suitors for others.

By all these means, thanks may cunningly be torn out of your hands, for there is so near a neighbourhood between reservation and free counsel as a pair of shears can hardly go between them; protestations, vows, oaths of honesty, sounding all one in bad men as in better. To eschew therefore their bestowing your loves or your hates, let combinations in a family first be broken if they run all one course, or at least their ways well discovered, though factions in a house is not amiss if they be well managed; for envy will take more in an hour than love in twenty. So shall you bind or loose at your pleasure; for your love, you shall have love again both in show and indeed, where otherwise the show will be yours, the thanks theirs; out of which contempt will be apt to spring, and your secrets will ever be subject to live open, and your humours descend upon; for who will not strive to know that which they hope to make use of? Besides, you shall but understand what they will have you to know and not what you ought; so shall your affairs suffer hurt, and your person wrought upon at pleasure. Your followers will be unfaithful when they must wear two minds in one body; and that judgment in choice must needs appear weak when the perfections or imperfections of them you do choose only lieth at the end of other men's tongues; for they will choose to serve their own turns and not to save your honour. So shall they with their tricks compass their ends, and you embrace the scorn; for the choice of one's favourites is commonly the index to the world of men's affections and judgment. By this way well may you purchase your

ease in suffering it, but they will have their desires, and you on all hands will be betrayed.

Therefore love of yourself, or hate of yourself; let not dreams carry you, but choose with your own eyes and ears; and let not other men's recommendations work your mind little by little to a liking, which otherwise you would not have liked, though your own eyes had looked upon them; for so shall you be hedged in ere you be aware with other men's creatures, and not with your own; it being easier for many to watch opportunities and your humours than for you, being but one, to counterwork and discover many, unless you have the faithfuller agents of your own. For if your delight be cast upon men moved by personal choice, the combinations will soon trace your fancies, and the recommendations of properness of person, handsomeness of face, sweetness of nature, diligence, loving persons fit to serve any Prince in the world, will be the clappers that will still tang in your ears.

If your humour tend to sports and youth, you shall hear nothing but that he is active, able of body, quick of spirit, well qualified in all of them. If your mind be lift up to matters of honour (as they call them) – I mean the wars – then is he a worthy gentleman, a gallant fellow, an understanding soldier, a brave captain. If you affect matter of State, then shall you know him to be well languaged, well seen in fashions of nations, a great observer, a proper man fit for employment, and the best fashioned and accomplished gentleman living. If you look after profit, then is he well seen in the courts of finances, of State matters at home, grave, wise, frugal in his own nature, honest in his carriage, rich in his means to tie him that he fly not out to a lavish expense, to exhaust your coffers; so as look what way your humours looks most, those ways will the praises of that man look when their intent is but to give him your liking.

On the other side, for your hate to be cast on this man or that as they would, detractions will be plentiful, all imperfections and more than all will be discovered, no man being without faults; virtues will be concealed or lessened at the least, which is easy to do, for men are better understanding in evil than in good, the one being a thing that falls within the compass of our learnings easily, the other with labour and pain. To conclude; the man on whom this hate or mislike is to be conferred shall be poisoned in your conceit before you shall have time to judge whether the vices laid to his charge were justly or unjustly attributed. Thus shall you perhaps hate and lay by an honest man, fit for your service, and embrace a snake into your bosom; for honest men are commonly single, trusting to their own integrities, where plotters will herd together to stand upon their guard because they fear.

Be therefore wary neither to choose or refuse till your own wisdom tell you it is time; and then if you fail you that commit the error must mend it, as well as you can; for as your judgment is, so will your fortune be for the most part, though in some one case a fool may light of the way by chance sooner than a wiser man. Yet believe me, error can bring out but error, be it apparent or hid; and hardly can man be without them, but the less the better, and that you must strive for. Thus much for the generality of this humour; particular devices to effect these being as many as your weaknesses will give matter to, their desires spurring them on as opportunities will minister occasions; and as accidents, which are infinite, will afford probabilities to persuade, either to have or to love.

1. The second way of depriving you of your own gifts is the bestowing of your actions, either to leave this or take that, suitable to their wills. To give you to a wife is probable will be the first attempt, for then will you be

young and packs will be the easiliest laid; in which my first days can say somewhat, for almost I had been caught by the combination of friend and followers to have been married to a long sorrow, had not my fortune been the better; and thanks and pleasures done to your friends in this case and for such a work will rather be esteemed by lookers-on an addition to their honesties than a blot, the matter carrying so godly a mark in the forehead as wedlock of a young couple.

Two ways there are that manifestly lie open for them to work by; the one by dandling your disposition, and so giving you the reins, wherein flattery must do his part; the other by leading your knowledge by way of reservation, wherein combinations will not be to seek. Whether it be true, that they say or know when they endeavour the effecting of such a work, yet will you find that these will be their ways for the most part; the virtues of her they would have you to match with will be delivered in the best language, and the highest strain they can to please you. Her modesty, education, good qualities, love, power, good disposition of parents, your ears will be blown full of. Her wealth shall ever be valued at a higher rate than you shall find it; and have an eye especially to that point, for love grows soon cold when want calls at your doors, and wives are not too forbearing to crave in their own particulars. Therefore be sure that she bring with her to buy her pins, whatsoever shall happen, or else you may repent you. Time will tell you of many imperfections in her that plenty must make plasters for.

Her beauties and features, her graces and proportions, will be admired and lauded to the uttermost; yet choose you a good body rather than a fair face, for the one will add advantage to the persons of your posterity, the other is commonly a lure to call eagles to the carcase, and many applauders stirs up pride of a face;

and pride of a face often the creating of a whore. So as you must needs love, love a mistress for her flesh, and a wife for her virtues. Her vices, you shall be sure, will be concealed if you be not the more cunning to discover by good scouts, or by them that affects another course, which easily may be known if you be not too hasty; for Time and Envy will say enough if you will give time but to hearken. Be not sparing in cost if that will serve your turn, and a false brother thrust into a house from whence you are to have a wife may with conveniency be done, or at least some in a house won to tell you truth; and although you shall not doubt but she shall have good instructions, if her mother be one of those that is entered into the roll of strikers, for old birds teach young ones, eggs being laid, to hatch them. Believe your own ears and eyes, and let not other choose for you, unless it be such parents that respects not their own present more than your good.

The next endeavour will be to steer another of your actions, as where to bestow your residence fittest for their ends; for if they be gallants that are delighted with the pretty contentments of this town, as with love of pleasures, I will not say whorings; or gay clothes, I dare not say wastings of their estates; or merry society, I may not say bitterness and jests to get the name of a wit; or feastings, to bestow whole days' thoughts after a morsel of meat, which for a world I will not call gluttony; or for good fellowship, to which I will not give the attribute of drinking drunk; or to see plays, which must not be named idleness[1] in them whose hours seem wearisome and heavy because they know not what to do with themselves; or to see and be seen, which comprehends in itself love of novelties or self-conceit. These kind of men will tell you that a country life is tedious, where your conversation will be but

[1] MS., "idles."

amongst peasants; that your hopes that are in a good way will run a hazard; and to bury yourself alive were pity, since all men's eyes are upon you; all men honour you; all men prizes you; ladies look after you; all men will follow you; when their ends is but to pass their times here by the helps of your expense, or by the grace of your favours, which beginning to ebb in either of those powers, then farewell those followers; and soon will they find occasions to sever that society, that friendship, that acquaintance. It will not be preposterous to warn you that gamesters may be remembered in this train, as dicers, carders, bowlers, cockers, horse-runners, etc., that will lay you aboard with their persuasions, and that will be for one of these two ends, either to cheat you themselves, or to use you as an instrument to cover their packs; because men of your place will be less suspected than those whose necessities inforces to such a trade of life.

It is likely, when your years hath passed some time in these young pleasures and that a little more virility hath taken hold of you, that the soldier will be ready to put in his foot and begin to work towards his ends. They are of two sorts, either landmen, or seamen (as they call them), and their persuasions will be built upon one of these two bases, Honour or Wealth. As for Honour, the great acts of the ancients; the worthy deeds of the modern, as precedents to stir you up with fame; of battles won; conquests obtained; states established; old ones repaired; new ones begun; glory in the course of their lives; power to sway a state; to command a people; and your name eternised by writers; by chronicles; shall lodge in your mind a desire of undertaking some little beginnings, that by your purse they may give way to their advancements; as to lead you to see this camp; the other army; this fort; that town; this siege; the other employment; this voyage; that

discovery. As for matters of Wealth, these will be their motives: great commands; advancing those that will be your creatures out of other Prince's means; as by giving commands of companies; commands of forts; command of colonies; government of towns; government of provinces; commands of fleets; discovery of barbarous countries easily to be subdued, mountains of gold and silver; prizes of caracks and Princes' treasures; the winning of enemies' goods without fail; and to shut up the business, if yourself will not be the actor in respect of the means of the employment yet at least you must be the adventurer, either of the whole or part; out of gain and getting. Thus will they talk; thus will they say; thus will they puff and speak big; and know you why? Not to yield you any great returns, but to use your means at home for them to get somewhat abroad. This contentment shall you be sure to purchase, to be thought to be an undertaker of an excellent spirit, as they will term you, a necessary man for your country, and for the time of this May time you may look behind you and see a great number of gay-coloured fellows at your heels.

There are another kind of men amongst the rest that will seek to bestow your courses called State men, who will think themselves so, or at least would be thought so; very witty they are, but poor withal, and want no ambition. Their ends are employments, by employments to rise, either as negotiators – to term them mannerly – or as Secretaries, or Clerks of Council, or as Embassadors, or as Councillors in time, or as Secretaries of State, or to other offices of greatness. Men of these hopes will work by these arguments opportunely put on that by you they may climb; as to persuade you to follow a Court in hope of a Prince's favour; to busy yourself with the understanding of foreign Princes' affairs; to study the proceedings of the

State at home; to thrust yourself into Embassages and employments abroad, it is no matter at what rates, at what conditions; to seem to be obsequious and vigilant in whatsoever may take hold, to make a master believe that he is the dearest to you of all creatures. Yea, sometimes rather than to want occasions to show this tenderness and endearing of yourself, injustice must be made justice; be it with the loss of honour or goods or life itself; to take upon you the gravity of a seeming commonwealth's man must not be forgotten. So as all these arguments are but as they conceive them, things lying in the straightest line towards their desired hopes.

Persuasions they are (I cannot deny) good and noble (as many of the others, in the other persons that went before, are) and not to be neglected by you, so as by them you are not abused. The rule to save yourself being this, that if they persuade for their own ends only, then to stand upon your guard; if for yourself only (which case I am jealous you will not oft meet withal) you have cause to thank them for their good counsel and to hold them dear; if both your ends be mixed in the ways, and the thing good, then is it not to be refused though not with so large a return of thanks for a reward. But amongst these men there be a sort of pretty fellows that hardly you shall distinguish from faithful counsellors, which think so well of their own wits particularly, and so generally weakly of yours and all men's else, as they decree in their fancies to bestow your resolutions at pleasure; and so common a phrase it is, "Let me alone" (with some arrogant gesture or a nod, when your back is turned), "I will persuade him," as it often deserves laughter; where, with more modesty, they might say, "I will deliver mine opinion; I will put him in mind of that perhaps he hath not thought of; and then let him use his judgment." Yet this note by the way of my experience, that

as soon as a cross fortune shall fall upon you, things not sorting according to their laid projects, they are gone like lice from a dead carcase, striving then to show themselves wise by being base, excusing it thus: to do me good and ourselves harm were a great point of indiscretion. But seldom have I found any to prosper much with this kind of falling off; for wise men that loves their drinks well will seldom venture to put it in a cask that is tainted with fustiness.

Scholars may in some sort be ranked with these former, not in that you shall find them so flitting or generally so ambitious, or that amongst them you shall not find some very honest, very constant, very worthy men that no fortunes can beat from you, if they have but to suffice nature in a competent fashion. Yet are there again of them of many kinds, of many professions, that will desire to make you the bridge to go over to their conclusions. Amongst which there are impostures in all kind of learnings – I will not call them mountebanks – whoever have more wares laid out than they have to sell. And be not too credulous upon reports of understanding persons who joys more in one hour's belief of a falsehood they desire, than in ten hours' labour to know a truth of what is not so pleasing. To try nothing – I say, not so neither; but their deeds will seldom answer their brags; or, if it do, to very small use; and the labour will scarce be worth the pain, unless grounded upon very demonstrable conclusions. By knowledge, this benefit you shall attain to of them of the learneder sort, at least not to wonder at anything but that the causes of all things cannot be known precisely; or if known in part, yet that all things cannot be managed by us as we would. These are the two great wonders of the world; besides I know not any. Therefore to return to our impostures, they, amongst the rest, will labour to bestow your mind, your courses,

your resolutions, if not in a full degree, yet in part, and in some measure if they can.

One note I must annex as a schedule to this discourse, and that is how you may distinguish between the imposture and the true lover of knowledge. The signs and their marks I have found to be these: the one in his heart, whatsoever show he will make, is all for gain in his projects, which either by some discourses, or some courses at one time or other, will lay itself open; the other esteems it not but for his mind's satisfaction. The one full of brags and ostentation that he may appear full of knowledge by his talk; the other, silent, contents and pleaseth himself with that he knoweth. The one will say it is nothing to understand and not to do, whereby the world may participate of the benefit. The other pleaseth himself to know what is possible be done, what not, when occasion shall earnestly require it without desire of admiration, reward, or sale. The one cannot endure to confess to have been deceived; where the other will as ingeniously acknowledge a paralogism fallen into, so soon as he discovers it, without any conceit of imputation to himself. The one will conceal how oft he hath been cozened: the other laughs and tells how oft he hath been cheated. The one nothing but experiments acted can satisfy the possibility or impossibility of the thing, and yet when it is done, the reasons why it is done, lieth hid; the other satisfied that it may be done, and the reasons why, either in whole or part, or propinque or remote, and therefore cares not to put it in act, being but gambalds to furnish closets withal when they are done. The one, though you be not capable, will undertake to teach, that you may wonder at him, yet in the end will teach you nothing; the other will never press you to learn, or ever open himself, unless he find you capable and industrious, and then very charitable to give you what

helps they can, and glad you will learn anything, so as their own contemplations be not hindered, which above all the world they prize.

And, believe me, empirics, what masks they put on, either concerning matters of engines for use, or projects to serve their country, or of health to help themselves or their friends, or of essays to pass away the time having nothing else to do, yet shall you find that either gain or glory is their end, not knowledge. Ay, I may safely say a hasty gain is hoped for, amongst which converting of metals is not one of the least; but why, I leave to you to judge. It is true, a mere charity to save human nature may thrust some forwards to act by medicines, to have many glasses, many compounds of many colours, to heal all, to kill none, where the others with modesty will promise to do the best they can, and will confess that God sometimes prospers their cures under their hands, sometimes not; but time wearieth these kind of men from practice, or practice in time makes them wearisome to men, and he runs a hazard of blame, which he shall be sure of, that tries to kill men without authority. This, the true lover of knowledge will tell you, you shall find infallible; that all things that appear to be, and are not that they appear to be, will be of very little use for profit, and of less continuance for time; as for men to appear godly and be not; to appear wise and be not; or to appear fond and be wise; or that to appear gold that is not; or to occult that is gold and is [not] gold; or stones that is not right to appear right; or wool to appear silk and is not, etc. So that sophisms be never long lasting, whosoever builds upon them; what future discommodities soever is tied to their tales, and if of use, yet once and no more, and must be acted upon such persons, as neither your words or needs shall have occasion to meet them afterwards; for things found false loses their

value as soon as they are done, and nothing but works of God and nature will be at high rates for ever and ever to continue; for things of use, though common, may last and be reasonably prized; but rarities common and for few men's use are sure soon to have an end of their esteem. So as if these things be dabbled in to satisfy the mind, they are good, for many phinomes inrich the understanding; but if for gain you will miss of your end, for there are certain works fit for every vocation; some for kings; some for noblemen; some for gentlemen; some for artificers; some for clowns; and some for beggars; *all are good to be known to everyone, yet not be used by everyone.* If everyone play his part well, that is allotted him, the commonwealth will be happy; if not, then will it be deformed; but which is fit for everyone, *quære* ? All are good to be known to everyone, yet not be used by everyone.

3. The third way of tearing thanks out of your fingers is often acted by such as you employ in the executing of your affairs, be they foreign officers or domestical; and that is by their doing of graces by cheerful caresses; by tenderness of respects; by trusts extraordinary; by continual conversations; by counsels debated and agreed upon; by praises afforded them upon every slight occasion to endear them in the master's eye; and lastly, little employments to enable them, or at least stealingly to make them necessary for a master's business: or by using conveniences, as concealing of wastes committed; by bearing or forbearing to inform if misdemeanours or riots be done; by extenuating of complaints if they come to a master's ears; or by multiplying of faults in those that are their co-rivals; or by affording of eases, as by appointings of the best lodgings, best horses, best drinks, best meats, best of whatsoever is, out of that a master must spend; ready impresses; quick payments; helps beforehand;

loans; and many courtesies or "favours" as they call them, which to the rest of their fellows will not be thought so reasonable to be allowed for a master's profit; or by giving commodities; as to employ them in such things wherein they may gain; to wink at things got so as it be but in a modest fashion; not to be too hasty to call them to a strict accompt; not to discover if petty things be embezzled; not to be too nimble to call for arrearages though they remain upon supers; not to press for rents if it be but a little that is behind; and letting of lands or selling of woods or other commodities with "favour" as they term it, otherwise called at smaller rates, or to give them the refusal, will not be out of use.

You must not strive too much to set all these things right, for it will not be in your power to help; only this I would require, that you should understand what they do, that by it you might have a more common notion how to judge things are carried, when greater things come in question. For truly by the affections of one man to another you shall have a clearer insight to see whether you be wrought upon or no, and, every man's ends being discovered and known, you shall ward better the blow that shall be offered you. And wonder you must not at these affections that are stirring amongst men, how near soever they be to you; for it is so suitable to the nature of man to favour those which they elect, either out of the opinion of their persons; or the society of their discourses; or for use, judging them aptest to execute their desires; and lastly there is no man, of how poor an estate soever, but loves rather to make other men beholden to him than he to them, since it is but the command of men that causes this affection of having of abundance and of power, once necessities being supplied; and this shall you find generally, that men loves them best whom they choose

and not who chooseth them, which is the cause that begets the complaint of so much ingratitude as in the world.

4. To eschew the fourth way of stealing thanks from you – a theft the most material and least apparent of all the rest – is by being the giver or not giver of your gifts without intercession. Who they be that are likeliest to rob you of this thanks, once more it is not unnecessary to remember; and that is either wife, children, brothers, kindred, friends, followers, or favourites, favourites understood to be any of these, if overvalued. For a wife may be loved so obsequiously as you shall be esteemed uxorious; children so tenderly as thought to dote; brothers and kindred at that rate as you shall receive the censure of being governed; friends and followers so dearly as to be said to be led by the nose. But by the way of intercession shall you better discover at what value you are esteemed at in their conceits than by any of the former ways of being given away.

In this comedy (for other than a play I cannot make it) will be presented three actors, yourself, the person spoken for, and the party speaking. If you play your part well, then will you be thought a good actor; if not, you must be content to suffer the shame and the loss: for, credit me, men in this act of giving commonly thanks them more that speaketh for them than they do him that giveth them, because the party speaking doth it for the love of him that requireth it, where you that give is supposed to do it for his sake that moveth it; otherwise the party spoken for, his own intercession, would serve the turn.

The best ways to give is to be beforehand in the demand of the asker, if he deserve it; in which none ought to be the judge, or so just a judge, as yourself; and better is it that you should fail in not judging rightly of their deserts than they to commit the fault in

overpressing themselves, and so seek to be their own carvers or their own judges.

The next is when the suitor himself asketh, which well cannot be denied than as reasonable to be granted, because often askers that deserve well, affects one thing before another, who desire your cogitations cannot ever so justly hit, though you mean them good; for small things given that contents, spreads the reward by much, and you shall be said to husband your gift well.

Lastly you shall give well when you give nothing if one moveth for another, for sweet answers well bestowed is a great gift for a fool. In some cases this last rule may be broken, and the recommendation of another is to be admitted, as when you are destitute of an actor for a business you intend, the choice being indifferent who you are to elect, then is it tolerable for one to propound for another. And I must say he incurs no small hazard of either being thought honest or wise that recommends, for it is a very dainty thing to give one's word for a man that may not prove either a knave or a fool.

Some may reply that it is true that I write, but few men have these just cogitations in giving, either faulting in forgetfulness, or covetousness, or underprizings, and therefore that masters ought to be pressed by others. To which I answer that mine intent is not to teach men how to handle weak masters, if they have them, but that you be not that weak master so to be handled, since your ears ought not to be shut to any man; for he hath a very poor resolution that dares not hear a man talk but must be talked out of his wits and discretion. I know no such glory and contentment in this world as to be asked and to give, yet still so to give that you may still be fit to be asked, the trouble of which you shall not need to fear when all is gone: for

as having brings joy with it being asked, so to be bankrupt being asked is torment.

And two maxims I will conclude with fit for your acting; the one, to suspend your answer at first asking with "I will think of it," for so shall you give yourself time of consideration either to deny handsomely or to grant with best advantage: the other, if once denied, let no importunacy alter you; for that will lay you open to be facile, so shall you never have rest. And not to be able to deny with a constant brow, if there be cause, is a sign that your courage is mixed with a cowardly kind of diffidence.

2. The next actor that is to present himself is the suitor that requires. To lay him open a little, let us consider the motives that puts him forward to address himself to an intercessor to speak for him rather than to speak for himself. By it you shall see what errors daily men commit to do it, and what disadvantages you shall give yourself to suffer it.

One of these two ends ties them to shroud themselves under the helps of an intercessor; either bashfulness, or an unworthy opinion he hath of your discretion. Bashfulness so participates with fears and shames as well I know not how to sever these affections; therefore hand over head I will mix them as they chance and call it all bashfulness, as the modestest term. Bashfulness in suitors is sometimes caused out of a jealousy of their own deserts; for it is the nature of men that are timorous as well to underprize themselves as for the audacious to overvalue themselves. Sometimes out of a diffidence to deliver feelingly at full their case; for a methodical tongue and a good utterance much tickles a dull ear, and sweet words sways a mind that is not over-seriously bent. Sometimes for fear of discovering the folly of a prodigality past, when once he comes to begging, if he have been master of anything: for griefs

of wants are far heavier to those that once have known what having is than to him that never was master of that joy. Sometimes mistrust that givers' judgments will not concur with theirs in the desert, and a denial to a modest man, pierces deep; for secret reproofs are bitterer to a thinking man than open reproaches to a prater. Sometimes out of an humour that men rather choose to be denied behind their backs than to their teeth; for disgraces in a covert are disgested with more ease than neglects that are public; and, as they think, a denial underhand begets not so soon a hatred in the denier, because he hath denied, as when a denier by his denial hath pronounced the party unworthy to his face; for wrongs by not rewarding deserts, or punishment undeservedly afflicted, are the forerunners of a greater hatred to follow; so as it is a greater misfortune to be whipped innocently than to be lashed for a cause; for pardons and remissions deserves merit and thanks, where wrongs require to be salved by more abundant graces.

And two things masters are hardly won to amend, the one to acknowledge a precipitation committed, the other to recompense a wrong with a farther loss; for few men but friars love to whip themselves for their sins. Concerning the unworthy opinion may be had of your judgment, it is plain enough ; it is that that persuades a suitor to honour, to follow, to seek after an intercessor; for men willingly take the surest and shortest way to their ends, and how can they be sure, if they doubt of your discretion, and that your affection towards them is not overtender; is it not likely then that an intercessor will be in their eye which they imagine can lead you either by persuasions or love ? For if they have found to grant or not to grant depend on your will absolutely, would they elect other means, other helps, than yourself ? Would not a bare petition

serve for a motive sufficient, if they understood you or thought you such as you ought to be ? And not esteeming you so, will you not be wrought upon hourly ? Shall they not jeer at you at every turn, and scorn you, even to your face ? Think you gins will be unlaid to catch you in every track of your humour ? Will not discourses of what you are, how you must be managed, be the subject of their every day's discourse ? If this be so, can you blame them, or think them unreasonable, to duck, to bend, to observe, to bribe, to flatter, to gain an intercessor that hath a power with you ? Be you yourself absolutely your own giver of your gifts, and none of these things are to be feared.

3. The last personage to step forth is the intercessor. Let us weigh him a little in his works, and what the causes be that move such to undertake the occupation, an occupation not pleasing in itself, for to be the common packhorse is troublesome; nor much acceptable to the person moved, unless the person moved joys in nothing but that joys may light upon the mover; which affection when it happeneth is little profitable to him that useth it, and less liked of the multitude that looketh on, and envy will much abate the smooth course of such a joy to him that hath it; for pain and pleasure mixed together is more sensible than all pain and no pleasure, and better to be borne.

But to come to the causes why the intercessors undertake a toil of that nature; it must either be profit or to close imblock you that they make their approaches at pleasure or that they find you facile and so by consequent their works easy. For profit, I must confess that those gains are easy and quick that comes from many hands, the burden little to them that bribes, since no man gives in that kind but for an advantage. Bags swell in the meantime, for many light gains make a heavy purse, and the principal giver the least thank of

all hands; for willingly men will not discover gifts given in secret, unless to palliate a higher trick of deceit he minds to play you; for the more you understand one gets by you, the less reason he hath to press you directly to give. And I find very few so modest that gains make an end of desiring more, if cleanly they may come by it. Since I must still affirm that the content of having and giving is greater than the pleasure of asking, or else neither is their covetousness or ambition a foot in the world.

Concerning blocking of you in, another end of their labour, can it be out of other reason than that you may not see, nor hear, nor know, with other eyes or ears, of understandings than theirs? Shall not, then, your knowledge be limited within the bounds of their wills? Shall not you be the poor lord, and gain nothing but ease for your cost? Will not they become the great masters of all you have, and must not all have dependency of them? So as for fear, or love, or hopes of preferments, they will ingross your followers, your attendants, and you overwrought without fail; for men are not so silly but in time to know which way the tide runneth, and to strive against the stream few oweth such a hearty duty as to sweat for your sake, and none but superstitious creatures willingly will kneel to the minister if they may have but access to the master; unless you be discovered facile. The last cause to make intercessors haunt you like so many spirits, never leaving you day nor night at quiet, for either by overawing you in one kind or another will they have their wills, or they will try for it; for your facile nature will open itself to their views by some of these means (if with it you happen to be tainted), either by your having somewhat of the fool, or by a slothful disposition, or ignorance in your own affairs, or by being overwedded to your pleasures, or out of fears if you have trusted

beyond the limits of a wise man, or out of a doting love that may not admit an hour's absence. By all which ways they will make themselves so necessary, and you so needy, that they will grow bold, hardy to undertake suites for themselves, for others, without merit. But that master is poor that out of many cannot make instruments fit for his work in a very short time.

To conclude, therefore. Be but the giver yourself of your gifts, and all these lime twigs can take no hold, nor you remain other than a free man, and at liberty.

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